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Reaction to Kravchuk Statement on Arms Continues

Ukraine Affirms Adherence to START

OW1803181492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Stategic nuclear weapons will be completely removed from Ukrainian territory by 1994, the press service of the Ukrainian President reported in connection to a statement by US Senator Sam Nunn who is heading a Congressional delegation to the republic. The statement said that the delegation had received "serious indications" that Kiev may claim the strategic nuclear weapons located on its territory. The press service said that Ukraine plans to strictly adhere to the Soviet-American START treaty.

Foreign Minister Assures NATO

LD1903091592 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The Ukraine has confirmed it will take out tactical nuclear weapons to Russia by July as has originally been planned. The republic's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko says this in a letter to the NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. [passage omitted]

Kravchuk Statements Noted

PM1903093592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Video report by Petr Fil]

[Text] [Fil] In a recent interview to the TRUD newspaper the Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk declared: Ukraine wants to be and will be a nuclear-free, nonaligned, and neutral state. At the same time the president stressed that Ukraine intends to eliminate its strategic and tactical nuclear weapons without setting any conditions on other states.

Let me recall that under a previous accord between the nuclear countries of the former USSR—that is, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine—the latter was to transfer its missiles to Russia for subsequent destruction. Then, on the 99th day of his presidency, 12 March, Kravchuk made public his decision to suspend the removal of nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory. Leonid Kravchuk said that this decision of his government was motivated by a lack of confidence that these missiles were being destroyed rather than by the fear that they were falling into the wrong hands, as the president put it. Expressing himself in favor of international supervision of the removal and dismantling of nuclear weapons, Leonid Kravchuk declared that Ukraine deems the capacity of the Russian plant for the destruction of nuclear arsenals inadequate. Therefore Ukraine, according to Kravchuk, has the right to have its own plant of this kind. In his opinion the Chernobyl zone would be the most suitable site. There, in his view, a production facility for the processing of nuclear waste from Ukrainian nuclear power stations could be created at the same time, since Russia is now refusing to accept this waste. Major financial expenditure is required for the implementation of these plans. In this connection Ukraine has asked a number of countries for help in establishing an international nuclear center on its territory. Thus it can be assumed that with the use of foreign financial assistance Kravchuk's plan will resolve the question of the Ukrainian nuclear waste which no one wants to accept, and simultaneously establish a facility for its own destruction of nuclear arsenals.

[Announcer] For your information: There are four nuclear republics on CIS territory. In Russia there are 17,505 units of nuclear weapons, in Ukraine—4,356, in Kazakhstan—1,690, and in Belarus—1,222 units.

Warhead Dismantling Plan Viewed

PM1803142192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 1

[K. Belyaninov report: "How Much Will Its Own Arzamas-17 Cost Kiev?"]

[Text] Strange though it may seem, the Ukrainian president's statement about stopping the removal of tactical nuclear weapons from the republic's territory and building an international nuclear center for the dismantling of munitions and the processing of radioactive waste inside the 30km zone of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] did not come as a surprise either to the military or to nuclear scientists.

Specialists of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command Staff maintain that the Ukrainian authorities have repeatedly delayed the departure of trains with tactical weapons before, and the possibility of such a step by Leonid Kravchuk was discussed in the High Command as much as a month ago.

Nevertheless, specialists of very diverse ministries maintain almost with one voice that the problems which obliged the Ukrainian president to make such a risky statement are not so much political as technical.

"The fact that Ukraine would raise the question of building such an enterprise on its territory became clear when the Krasnoyarsk-26 plants refused to accept spent fuel from Ukrainian AES's," Anatoliy Zemskov, deputy chief of a main administration of the Russian Atomic Energy Ministry, believes. "The republic is now using the reserve capacities of nuclear stations, but they are limited: According to the roughest estimates, they will suffice for no more than three years."

A plan to build the "Vektor" plant in the Chernobyl zone had been discussed two years ago. At a news conference marking the first 100 days of his presidency Leonid

Kravchuk essentially repeated the previous substantiation for the project, which had been submitted to Ryzhkov's Council of Ministers: "In ridding ourselves of the nuclear missile potential, we will also rid ourselves of the nuclear fuel of the Chernobyl sarcophagus." But at that time the money to implement it could not be found even from the Union government.

"Even if the money were there, Ukraine would be unable to resolve the problem of its nuclear waste in less than five years," Anatoliy Zemskov maintains. "According to the most cautious estimates, it will take precisely that long to build the plant."

But the waste problems constitute just a small part of the problems which Ukraine will have to encounter following Kravchuk's statement. Nuclear munitions specialists of the Russian Nuclear Center, better known as Arzamas-16, believe that nuclear weapons can be dismantled and destroyed only at those enterprises where they were assembled and only under the control of those who developed them. "An obligatory condition for ensuring the safety of the process of destroying nuclear munitions is the presence of the experienced, highly-qualified specialists who developed these models of weapons, special equipment, corresponding methods and technologies, and the complex of specialized production facilities which took many decades to create," reads a statement signed by Academicians Khariton, Negin, and Pavlovskiy and by other acknowledged specialists.

The system for destroying nuclear weapons has still not provided the answer to one question: What is to be done with weapons-grade plutonium and uranium? They propose to store it in supersafe shelters and to process it into fuel for AES's, but not one of the projects has yet been realized. At the same time, according to Lieutenant General S. Zelentsov, chief specialist of the Joint Armed Forces High Command, it is precisely the shortage of storage facilities that is now the chief problem for Russia. There are none in Ukraine at all, although it would take at least $500 million to eliminate the consequences of an accidental diffusion of plutonium as the result of careless handling of just one nuclear munition.

Belarus Stand Reiterated

LD1703171892 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By BELTA correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk March 17 TASS—"The Ukrainian decision to suspend the withdrawal of nuclear arms from its territory is an exclusively internal affair of this state," chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich told BELTA-TASS today.

"We do not interfere in the affairs of sovereign Ukraine," he added. "I can only say this decision had no influence on the Belarussian stand. We firmly keep to our opinion that Belarus should become a non-nuclear state. The Supreme Soviet of our republic has not changed its opinion either. That is why all disarmament arrangements in the republic are following the adopted scheme."

Russian Scientists Protest

PM1803143792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

["Statement by Scientists at the Russian Nuclear Center"]

[Text] There have been reports on radio and television, referring to Ukrainian President L.M. Kravchuk's press conference, on his decision to suspend the removal of tactical nuclear weapons from Ukraine and on the establishment on its territory of an International Atomic Center for their dismantling.

In this connection, specialists on nuclear weapons at the Russian Nuclear Center (All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Physics, Arzamas-16) protest strongly against such actions and consider it their professional duty to state the following:

Nuclear weapons, given the presence of highly toxic radioactive substances and powerful explosives in them and in the event of their being handled by nonprofessionals, are highly dangerous, so their dismantling and destruction can only be carried out under the control of those who developed them and at the special plants that assembled them.

The presence of the experienced, highly skilled specialists who developed these types of weapons, of the special equipment, the proper methods and techniques, and the complex of specialized production facilities that took many decades to create is an essential condition of a safe destruction process. Failure to observe these conditions could have disastrous consequences, affecting the interests of the peoples of Ukraine, Russia, and the entire world community.

According to estimates carried out here and in the United States, it would cost around $500 million to clear up after the accidental dispersal of plutonium in a nonnuclear explosion of just one weapon.

The aforementioned decision by the Ukrainian president is not in line with international commitments on the nonproliferation of experience, knowledge, and technologies of nuclear weapons production.

Aware of the awesome responsibility borne by us, the developers of these weapons, in terms of making them safe, we consider it intolerable that the dismantling of nuclear weapons should be organized on the territory of Ukraine and we urge Ukrainian President L.M. Kravchuk to abandon such plans, primarily in the interests of his own people's safety.

[Signed] Academician Yu. Khariton; Academician Ye. Negin; Academician A. Pavlovskiy; Candidate of Technical Sciences V. Afanasyev; Candidate of Technical

Sciences S. Voronin; Doctor of Physical-Mathematical Sciences G. Goncharov; Candidate of Technical Sciences G. Dmitriyev; Doctor of Physical-Mathematical Sciences R. Ilkayev; Doctor of Technical Sciences S. Kocharyants; Doctor of Physical-Mathematical Sciences V. Mokhov; Candidate of Physical-Mathematical Sciences L. Ognev; Doctor of Technical Sciences L. Timonin; Doctor of Technical Sciences Yu. Faykov, and Candidate of Technical Sciences Ye. Yakovlev.

News Conference on Control Over Nuclear Weapons

PM1803155592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 3

[Major A. Yegorov report under "Direct Line" rubric: "There Are No Incidents of the Loss of Nuclear Weapons, Trustworthy Experts Declare"]

[Text] Moscow—A news conference was held 17 March at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center on questions concerning the reliability of control over nuclear weapons kept on the territory of Commonwealth member-countries. Taking part were Lieutenant General of Aviation S. Zelentsov, deputy chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Main Directorate; G. Tsyrkov, chief of a Russian Federation Ministry of Atomic Power Main Administration; and Lieutenant Colonel A. Fagotov, expert of a department of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Main Directorate.

In his speech Gen. Zelentsov once more refuted reports that have appeared in the foreign and domestic press alleging incidents of the loss of nuclear weapons. The storage system completely rules out unauthorized access to munitions under centralized control, he said. In accordance with the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials, nuclear munitions are kept in a protected zone which is under the constant surveillance of security guards and electronic instruments. This zone is surrounded by a physical barrier with a limited number of access points under the appropriate control. Access to the zone is permitted only under security observation. In the general's words, this system of control has never broken down, either within the forces or at the storage bases.

To the journalists' reasonable question as to whether guarantees of security remain in the event of the loss of centralized control over nuclear weapons—and this tendency can already be observed, in their opinion—Zelentsov replied that in the event of weapons being transferred to people who do not know how to use them, there are no such guarantees.

Georgiy Tsyrkov from the Russian Ministry of Atomic Power supported the general. In connection with [Ukrainian President] L. Kravchuk's decision to suspend the removal of tactical nuclear munitions from Ukraine, he read out a statement from scientists of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Physics (Arzamas-16) Russian nuclear center, which contains a resolute protest against such actions. The dismantling and destruction of nuclear munitions should be carried out under the supervision of those who developed the weapons, and only at the special plants where they were assembled, the statement says.

The statement is signed by nuclear munitions developers Academicians Yu. Khariton, Ye. Negin, and A. Pavlovskiy, and other scientists.

Zelentsov Assures No Warheads Sent to Iran

LD1703180692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Joining us in this program today is the senior commander of the united Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Lt. Gen. Sergey Zelentsov, who is deputy chief of the department in charge of all nuclear arms of the Commonwealth. We have asked him to clarify the situation with nuclear arms control in view of the claims in the western media that several nuclear warheads have reached Iran from the former Soviet republics of Central Asia.

[Begin recording] [Zelentsov] The system of storing nuclear warheads rules out any chance of access to them. All the nuclear weapons of the Commonwealth are under centralized control. This guarantees their safe-keeping. All weapons containing warheads have been moved out of the Central Asian republics to centralized storage bases in Russia. This was done as early as January. That is why there are no nuclear warheads in the Central Asian republics at present.

In view of the claims in Western media we have checked up to see if perhaps they refer to the period before all nuclear warheads were moved out of the Central Asian republics. We have found that control of numbers and types of all nuclear facilities has been reliable. We have satisfied ourselves once again that no warheads have disappeared either before or this year.

[Unidentified correspondent] Could nuclear warheads have come to foreign countries as the results of commercial deals?

[Zelentsov] As far as nuclear warheads and nuclear arms are concerned there had never been any sales, not even a discussion of this matter. We uphold and strictly abide by the nuclear arms non-proliferation treaty, in particular in relations with non-nuclear states. We hold no such talks either officially or unofficially. This possibility is completely ruled out. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Well, if so, there is only one way left to take possession of nuclear arms and that is by stealing them. Here is what Lt. Gen Zelentsov said with regard to this conjecture:

[Begin recording] [Zelentsov] We are constantly perfecting our nuclear arms security system. We are looking into the future. We carry out special reasearch. We forecast possible scenarios of attempted seizures of nuclear arms by various extremists and what newest means and weapons they might use for this. We are constantly reviewing ways and methods of protection of nuclear facilities. This work is carried out continuously. We are ready to face any emergency and our guarantees against them are firm. [end recording]

Security Measures for Tactical Weapons Outlined

MK1803082792 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 12, 22 Mar 92 (Signed to Press 17 Mar 92) p 21

[Report by unnamed military observer on interview with Colonel General Nikolay Dimidyuk, chief of the Ground Forces Missile Troops and Artillery Directorate; place, date not given: "If You Have Stolen Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] Tactical nuclear weapons are now on everybody's lips, both politicians' and ordinary people's. For some reason it is believed that these weapons may disrupt the peace. But what are they like? A little while ago, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI's military observer met with Colonel General Nikolay Dimidyuk, chief of the Ground Forces Missile Troops and Artillery Directorate.

[Dimidyuk] Nuclear weapons appeared in the United States in the fifties. The first launcher was the "Honest John," with a range of up to 40 km. Only in 1961 did the Soviet Union get the "Luna," with a range of 30 km. Three years later the "Luna-M" complex had a range of 65 km. Then came the "Scud" with a range of 300 km. These were all missiles.

In addition, troops have artillery pieces that can deliver nuclear shells. These appeared in the seventies. If you count up, we have practically exponentially more ground-based tactical nuclear weapons, which are the main kind.

The warheads are stored not in artillery units and combined units, but in special ones. Tactical nuclear weapons are not designed for instant use, so they are a considerable distance from the launchers. They are concealed deep underground, and access to them is extremely complex. You can go there only in a group. Each officer has his own key and cipher. If even one person is missing, the airlock system [sistema germetizatsii] will not operate. Let us imagine the impossible: Terrorists have seized a storage facility. Even so, they will be unable to use the weapons. The weapons are secured by codes that are in the possession of the leadership of the General Staff. No launcher can fire without a command from the center. It is also impossible to load a shell without the center.

The only likely opportunity for weapons to fall into the wrong hands is during transportation. It is possible to carry off an artillery shell: It weighs 30-40 kg, whereas missile launchers [raketnyye ustanovki] weigh 500-700 kg. But it would not be possible to place it in a launcher: Each charge has its own utilization code. Okay, they have stolen the code too and entered it into the missile nose cone. Even then there would not be a nuclear explosion. The charge itself contains several levels of safety measures, which are removed in the course of the flight. The program is contained in the center's computer, and as you realize, neither terrorists nor politicians have access to that.

At one time, tactical nuclear weapons were the troops' pride and joy. But in general they are barbaric. When they hit an area, what is going to happen to it later on, when individual charges have a yield greater than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima?

The General Staff has already elaborated a plan to destroy them. It was originally hoped to cope with them by 1995-1997. But practice shows that the timetable will probably be extended. This is an extremely complex process. First, you have to lower the level of combat-readiness of the weapons. You have to come up with an environmentally safe destruction plan. Another factor is the capacities of the industry that will deal with this. After all, this is not a mechanical process, as was the case with the shorter- and intermediate-range missile launchers. It also costs money—tens of billions. So I am absolutely at a loss to understand why some people want to keep them near their own home. Maybe someone has other ideas?

No Warheads Missing From Kazakhstan

LD1803090192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 1

[Feature comprising reports by Vladimir Desyatov and Pavel Felgengauer under the "Kazakhstan" rubric: "Missiles Are in Place, Only a Canard Has Flown Away. But Decree on the Republic's Army Is Nothing But the Truth"]

[Text] [Desyatov report] Seydabek Altynbekov, first deputy chairman of the Republic of Kazakhstan State Defense Committee, has denied a report that three missiles with nuclear warheads have vanished from Kazakhstan's territory. "All tactical nuclear weapons have already been removed from the republic's territory. And the disappearance of strategic weapons cannot pass unnoticed. All this is a canard," Altynbekov stated in an interview with republic television.

President Nazarbayev's apparatus is keeping quiet about the report that missiles have been sold off. It is thought here, however, that these rumors are being spread quite deliberately in order to persuade public opinion that the republic is incapable of controlling its own nuclear potential.

Kazakhstan's president has signed a decree on setting up a Republic of Kazakhstan Republican Guard. This military formation is being created in order to ensure the Republic of Kazakhstan's sovereignty, to defend its citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms, and to defend other vitally important interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan. It will be a separate military formation and armed forces reserve. The Republican Guard is under the command of the Kazakh president, but direct leadership is entrusted to the Republican Guard commander. The guard will be manned on a voluntary basis from republic citizens with a military service obligation.

The report about a possible visit to Kazakhstan by Boris Yeltsin is scarcely true. But a meeting between the government leaders of Kazakhstan and Russia is scheduled for 23 March in the city of Uralsk. Miyansha Ibragimov, deputy leader of the consolidated economic section of the republic's Cabinet of Ministers, has reported that they are expecting Gaydar or Burbulis to go to Uralsk. Nothing is known in Alma-Ata about Yeltsin's intention to come to Uralsk.

Kazakhstan's delegation will be headed by Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko. It is planned to discuss issues of economic cooperation and reciprocal deliveries, and to coordinate price policy. The meeting will last for 2-3 days, and Nazarbayev is not planning to attend.

[Felgengauer report] A briefing was held 17 March in Moscow at which Lieutenant General Sergey Zelentsov (deputy chief of the Main Directorate within the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command that deals directly with nuclear warheads) stated that "all nuclear munitions are under secure control." And all tactical nuclear warheads were withdrawn from Kazakhstan in January 1992. Following the appearance of reports that several warheads had turned up in Iran, "we counted up and checked how many tactical weapons were introduced into Kazakhstan and how many were withdrawn; all the numbers tallied." Nuclear weapons require constant technical servicing and the scheduled replacement of a number of components. So all warheads are individually accounted for and cannot go astray without anyone noticing.

Tactical nuclear weapons, General Zelentsov claims, are currently deployed on the territory of only three republics: Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. All tactical weapons should be withdrawn from Belarus by 1 July 1992, and specialists from the CIS High Command are in no doubt that this deadline will be kept. Some 57 percent of tactical munitions have already been withdrawn from Ukraine, but since 23 February the withdrawal of warheads has been discontinued and the timetable has thus been disrupted. However, General Zelentsov hopes that, following the CIS presidents' meeting in Kiev 20 March, the withdrawal of nuclear weapons will resume.

Velikhov, Kokoshin on Joint SDI Idea

MK1803134592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 12, 22 Mar 92 (Signed to Press 17 Mar 92) p 12

[Interview with Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Andrey Kokoshin, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, by correspondent Nikolay Khorunzhiy; place, date not given: "Space Shield: 'Made in Russia and USA'"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's proposal in his UN speech that Russia and the United States jointly create a global system of space defenses came as rather a surprise and prompted a polemic. Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Andrey Kokoshin, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, discuss this plan in conversation with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent Nikolay Khorunzhiy.

[Khorunzhiy] In the Western press you encounter talk of the Russian president's foreign policy improvisations. Did B. Yeltsin consult with anybody before putting forward this initiative?

[Kokoshin] The idea of joint strategic defenses has long been in the air. Yeltsin's statement was motivated by political considerations. It demonstrates our new attitude toward the United States and, in my view, is a declaration of intent, rather than a call to sign a treaty in the immediate future. He put forward a concept on which there is still a lot of work to be done.

[Velikhov] The president has already met three times with Russian scientists and this question was among those discussed, including with me.

[Khorunzhiy] Are there in Russia opponents to joining the American system of ABM defenses?

[Velikhov] There are practically none among either designers or the military. The critics of this proposal in both Russia and the United States are, rather, maniacs obsessed with old ideas and they have no influence.

[Kokoshin] The opponents of joint ABM defenses are those who believe that this venture is too expensive and that it is unnecessary, since there is no real threat or the threat is minimal, and also those who believe our relations with the United States have not reached a level where we can cooperate frankly and in earnest. And we must cooperate the way all developed countries do, without revealing valuable commercial secrets to others. Our Russian nature rushes from one extreme to the other. After decades of mistrust we are now in such a state of euphoria that we seem to be ready to hand over anything.

[Khorunzhiy] A U.S. submarine tracks a submarine of ours in Russia's territorial waters. We learn of a Pentagon plan, albeit a hypothetical one, for waging war against Russia. Would not joint military research projects [razrabotki] go against Russia's national interests?

[Kokoshin] On each occasion we must carefully assess those interests and seek solutions where our interests coincide with those of the United States. Today there is a danger that Russian military researchers will be dragged off by certain elements all over the world, including representatives of a number of "Third World" countries. I think it would be more advantageous to organize cooperation with the United States and the EC on a number of major strategic defense programs than to allow everything to drift. It is better for this process to proceed under the democratic control of state organs, via the budget and parliamentary checks and via a civilian Defense Ministry, than for it to proceed spontaneously—through deals between defense complex enterprises and foreign firms. If the program for cooperation in creating strategic defenses is based on realistic, moderate aims and is competently fitted into the structure of our national security and into Russia's security policy, which as yet does not exist, it will yield dividends for us.

[Velikhov] Confrontation still exists between the United States in the form of metal, military hardware, and old instructions, but there is no longer any political confrontation, any confrontation of concepts. Today we must switch from nonconfrontational concepts to joint action to strengthen security. Of course, before this we should considerably "cleanse" our military potentials, reduce them to a minimum, and then create joint defenses and a security strategy.

Before, in conditions of counterforce nuclear confrontation, SDI would merely have worsened the situation. It would have been unable to intercept all the opposing superpower's missiles, but it would have provoked it to increase the number of them in order to guarantee breaking through the defenses. Today the world community needs to be made safe not from the superpowers, which are reducing their armaments, incidentally, but from any underdeveloped adventurist aggressor. An ABM system designed for this purpose can be much more modest than that contemplated by the Americans five or six years ago. In this case joint military research projects with the Americans would accord with Russia's national interests.

[Khorunzhiy] Some people believe that we need joint Russian- American ABM defenses in order to retain the asset of the potential of our scientists and workers in the military-industrial complex.

[Velikhov] It would be strange to use a guillotine in order to ensure that it does not rust and the executioner does not lose his skills. The aims of joint ABM defenses are different.

[Kokoshin] I repeat, Yeltsin's statement was dictated primarily by political considerations. But now all Russian leaders of the defense industry are saying: Give us a military doctrine, tell us what we should keep in military production and what we should convert and privatize. Military orders are unprofitable, but military plants are prepared to fulfill them if they can be confident that these orders will not be canceled in three months' time. If we get an ideology of national interest and our own military policy, we will be able to carry out the conversion of the military-industrial complex more painlessly within the framework of programs like SDI.

[Khorunzhiy] What can we offer the Americans to interest them in our participation?

[Velikhov] First, our S-300 system, which is analogous to the U.S. "Patriot" antimissile complex, has evoked interest in the weapons market. Second, we have considerably improved the sole ABM system permitted by the ABM Treaty, which surrounds Moscow and is disrespectfully known as the "galosh." Third, we could offer to use "Energiya," the world's most powerful rocket, which is currently standing idle, in order to place a large number of satellites in orbit.

[Kokoshin] We have a whole series of research projects where we are at least at the same level as the Americans, and in some respects even at a higher level. Moreover, our geographical situation in itself makes it possible to create a unified ring for very reliably tracking the situation in most of the Northern Hemisphere.

The war in the Persian Gulf showed that the air defense systems used there were not perfect. The Soviet S-300 system has not been tested in combat conditions. Improved air defense systems would be used to provide defenses against tactical missiles with a range of up to 500 km. But a different quality of defenses will be required to intercept intermediate- and longer-range ballistic missiles. These missiles can carry a large number of dummy warheads and other means of breaking though defenses. We can start cooperating with the United States right now in the sphere of creating a Joint Space Monitoring System and a Missile Early Warning System.

[Khorunzhiy] Won't the interests of those countries that take no part in creating ABM defenses be damaged?

[Velikhov] All countries that can bring anything valuable to the project must be involved in creating ABM defenses, for instance, West Europe and Japan. Of course, they would all be able to enjoy the "common shield."

[Kokoshin] I too believe that a strategic defense system cannot be created without Europe and Japan. Who will receive the strategic shield and who will not? That is a tricky political task, although all participants in creating the "shield" would not necessarily have to have missiles. The participation of the CIS countries in such a system is a difficult question. This is an area for the subtlest, most meticulous work by the Russian Foreign Ministry.

[Khorunzhiy] Would not the creation of limited ABM defenses cause a new round of the arms race?

[Velikhov] The ABM system must be developed in such a way as to secure political stability on the one hand, and as not to provoke an arms race on the other. For instance, we reaffirm that nuclear weapons must not be used, but we also retain them, because we can deter potential aggressors. ABM defenses too can deter countries that immediately become superpowers, as it were, by creating a limited number of nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

[Kokoshin] Such a danger exists, but we should begin not with the stationing of weapons but with the creation of an early warning system. Moreover, the 1972 treaty on the limitation of anti- ballistic missile defenses (ABM-1) limits the arms race in this sphere. Although ABM-1 is a product of the "cold war," I would not say that its days are numbered. Cooperation with the United States can be developed in the sphere of ABM defenses without touching ABM-1.

Kyrgyzstan To Sell Enriched Uranium Abroad

LD1803213692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2034 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to a report from the INTERSEPT agency, Kyrgyzstan has announced that it will sell uranium to all countries, apart from those which are considered undesirable in this regard. President Akayev announced this while talking to journalists in Delhi. He has proposed supplying India with enriched uranium.

Heavy Water for Sale to Norway 'Being Checked'

PM1703153792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Aleksey Portanskiy report: "No Trace of Heavy Water Found in Volgograd So Far"]

[Text] On 11 March our newspaper published a report headlined "Heavy Water Scandal in Norway." Citing the Norwegian mass media, the report stated that a Norwegian firm had received an offer from some Russian entrepreneurs to acquire eight tonnes of heavy water which, as is well known, is used in the nuclear power industry. This, of course, alarmed the law and order agencies in Oslo, and they began an investigation.

The next day ITAR-TASS sent a clarification from Oslo which also cited the Norwegian press and said that the Norwegian firm had received the offer of a deal by fax from Volgograd. In addition to heavy water, the offer included the purchase of red phosphorous and red mercury.

The editorial office contacted its Volgograd correspondent Valeriy Kornev. The Norwegian newspaper report on the Volgograd "link" of the deal, he reported, caused understandable concern in the city. The Volgograd Administration of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security has begun an investigation.

"Let me explain right away," Administration Chief Vladimir Guro told your correspondent, "that there are no nuclear power stations in Volgograd Oblast. Admittedly, industrial enterprises could produce or use heavy water. None has come to light at present. The report on the possible involvement of Volgograd businessmen in the deal is being checked."

Foreign Services Said Behind Nuclear 'Rumpus'

LD1703190192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1727 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The storage of radioactive raw material and nuclear weapons is being reliably controlled despite the "chaos in the country," Yevgeniy Primakov, director of Russia's external intelligence service, said today. He was speaking at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations during the presentation of a course of lectures which professional intelligence officers will read to future diplomats entitled: "The Role and Place of External Intelligence in the Modern World."

He said that external intelligence is getting the impression that the foreign media rumpus over the removal of radioactive raw material and nuclear weapons components from CIS countries is a planned campaign. He suggested that this campaign wants to show the world how unreliable is the storage system for fissionable materials and other nuclear weapons components in CIS countries and to bring public opinion to conclude that this area must fall under international control.

Yevgeniy Primakov feels that the "special services of some states" may be behind this action. Reports on the sale of a consignment of uranium-235 and of small quantities of heavy water and on the disappearance of warheads from Kazakh territory appeared at almost the same time and were sufficiently coordinated, he said. However, this information was deliberately released and unconfirmed when checked.

Yevgeniy Primakov also announced that the service he heads had no information that CIS nuclear scientists were working in countries possessing the potential to create their own nuclear weapons.

Security Ministry on Strategic Underground Objects

LD1803225392 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—The Russian Ministry of Security does not intend to make information on the location and functions of underground strategic objects public as it will be a threat to "the strategic defense interests of Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States," according to an official report issued by the ministry today.

The press-release was issued in connection with journalists' numerous requests to "acquaint them with the location and functions of underground strategic objects," as well as some newspaper publications, which, according to the ministry, "have nothing to do with the reality" and only are misinforming the public.

According to observers, several "sensational" materials have appeared in the news media on the issue over the last few weeks, including reports on a "secret metro line" allegedly linking the Moscow center with the suburbs, and a "secret underground town" near the Moscow University and so on.

With due respect for "professional interests of journalists", the ministry stated, nevertheless that "strategic defense interests of Russia and the Commonwealth do not permit to satisfy inquiries of news media on the score." Moreover, it expressed worry about actions of some journalists who "are collecting information about objects allegedly located in this or that region." The press-release says that on March 18 "a well-known publicist addressed radio listeners and gave them the address and the number of a contact telephone urging them to send him all appropriate information on the issue."

The Russian Ministry of Security considered these and similar actions to be "illegitimate actions which can impair the national security interests."

French TV Alleges 'Underground' Arms Sales

LD1603181292

[Editorial Report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian, in the "Itogi" program at 1950 GMT on 15 March carries a four-minute report by Sergey Iyezuitov on a French Television program on arm sales by the forme USSR.

Iyezuitov says the French program carried a video report on an underground deal made for the sale by the former USSR of 1 kg of enriched uranium for 100 million dollars. According to one of the people interviewed in the program, there is a network of underground organizations in the CIS. Journalists spoke about military men offering any equipment and nuclear materials, he continues.

Iyezuitov says the video has been seen in many West European countries but it cannot be seen in the CIS. However, the faces have been concealed and the voices distorted. Dominique (Quesnes), one of the videomakers who was interviewed by Iyezuitov, says people appearing in the video did so on the condition that they would not be identified.

Yezuitov interviews Mikhail Bazhanov, chairman of the Committee for Conversion of the Russian Federation, who says: "It seems to me that a purposeful propaganda campaign is in progress whose final aim is, first of all, to provoke the collapse of our nuclear industry connected with the manufacture of armaments. The second aim is to lure our nuclear experts and other experts to leave."

Nuclear Arms Conference Opens in Moscow

LD1703204792 Moscow TASS in English
2004 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—A meeting of the working group of the Dartmouth conference on problems of security and cooperation opened in Moscow today. The meeting focused on the fate of and control over the former Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal, as well as on the future of the Commonwealth Armed Forces.

"We are particularly interested in the fate of the Commonwealth nuclear arms and control over them", Edward Warner, chief analyst of the American research organisation "Rand Corporation", told ITAR- TASS. "The most important task is to determine how to reduce the armaments inherited by Russia and other Commonwealth countries to reasonable volumes unilaterally or in the context of international relations," he pointed out. According to him, the matter also involves how to carry out the reduction in armaments and at the same time "maintain the global stability and stable relations among new independent states".

A group of scientists and experts on disarmament and international security from the U.S. and Commonwealth countries are taking part in the meeting which will last till the end of the week.

Nuclear Expert on Emigration of Arms Specialists

AU1603140192 Poznan WPROST in Polish
8 Mar 92 pp 38, 39

[Interview with Dr. Georgiy Yeliseyev of the Moscow Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Brains for Sale"]

[Text] [WPROST] How many of your scientists are working for al-Qadhdhafi?

[Yeliseyev] There are two of them. Previously, there were 120 Russians working for him. In 1980, the USSR provided Libya with a complete scientific center together with a 10-megawatt reactor. The work of the entire facility has a civilian character. Its construction was supervised by our institute and overseen by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The reactor is not powerful enough to allow the production of the plutonium needed to create a nuclear bomb. We had earlier built a smaller reactor, one with a two-megawatt capacity, in Iraq. The French provided Iraq with a reactor whose capacity is at least a dozen times greater than that of the one that we built, and that reactor can be used for military purposes.

[WPROST] How many people at the Kurchatov Institute can make nuclear weapons, and how much do they earn?

[Yeliseyev] We have about 3,000 employees, and about 5 percent of them are working on the military side. However, our "civilians" also possess sufficient knowledge to be able to produce nuclear bombs. The average wage is about 800 rubles a month.

[WPROST] Can Kurchatov Institute employees freely travel abroad?

[Yeliseyev] The "civilians" are not subject to any restrictions in this respect. Officially, the "military" employees are subject to such restrictions. However, one can easily travel from Russia to Moldova, and then from Moldova to Romania, and from there it is possible to travel to one of the Islamic states that is wealthy as a result of petrodollars and possesses military superpower ambitions. So far, our scientists have not taken that path, but it is difficult to say what will happen tomorrow. The West itself is encouraging the "idea of emigration." For example, several of our scientists are working in the United States and in West Europe. It is true that they are earning considerably less than other scientists in those countries, although they possess the same skills, but it is over 100 times more than they would earn in our country. Those who have not left so far are beginning to wonder whether they should take the offers being made to them by the Arabs as living conditions in Russia continue to deteriorate. There would be no exodus if the West were to place some orders with our entire institute. Then all our employees would be able to earn more.

[WPROST] We already know that the Iraqis can produce weapons of mass destruction thanks to the French reactor. Are you sure that those two scientists of yours who are in Libya could not construct an atomic bomb?

[Yeliseyev] That depends on whether one wants to produce the kind of bomb that Americans dropped on Japan or a modern-day nuclear weapon. To build the first type of weapon, the knowledge that our scientists possess and the scientific and technical means that they have at their disposal in Libya are perfectly adequate. However, as for modern nuclear weapons, one needs large reactors to be able to produce them.

India Welcomes CIS Nuclear Scientists

LD0903211392 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 9 March 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Kuznetsov]

[Text] New Delhi March 9—A warm welcome awaits those scientists from the former Soviet Union who express the wish to work in India.

At least four applications from scientific workers of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) have already been received, according to an announcement of a representative of the science and technology department of India. "India has not studied this problem seriously till now. But, from my point of view, we must make use of this opportunity and welcome them", he said.

The CIS, of course, needs those specialists, admitted the department official. "But if they wish to come to India and could be useful to us, we will accord them a red-carpet welcome", he said.

Tutwiler Cited on U.S., NATO Aid to CIS

PM1803153192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Food and Medical Aid Will Continue, but U.S. Businessmen Are not Rushing to the CIS"]

[Text] Washington—Some 22,000 tonnes of food and medicines will be sent to the CIS countries by the NATO countries before 1 June in addition to the supplies of humanitarian aid already made or now being made by the West.

Announcing this, U.S. State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler explained that surplus stocks built up by the European NATO countries will be sent to the former Soviet republics.

M. Tutwiler also reported that in the next few weeks the United States will supply large consignments of various vaccines to some Central Asian republics on board 10 U.S. transport flights which will be allocated for the purpose.

In the State Department spokesman's words, a series of other measures is being prepared, designed to help the CIS countries. This is a question of humanitarian aid alone. M. Tutwiler acknowledged that she knows of no decisions by the administration connected with economic and, most importantly, financial help for the reforms that are being implemented in the former Union. Admittedly, she said that in the past week the deputy secretary of state had met with a group of U.S. private business representatives. The discussion centered on ways to stimulate the flow of U.S. investments to the CIS.

But this meeting, understandably, produced no concrete results. Judging from Tutwiler's comments, the businessmen firmly raised a number of conditions. In particular, they insisted on the full clarity of their legal rights in Russia and other republics and the guarantee of the full protection of their capital investments. These demands are addressed not so much to the CIS as to the U.S. Administration, from which American business expects a clear signal: "Now you can invest your money..." The administration is not prepared to give such a signal if one disregards a series of generally minor gestures which change the situation little.

On the other hand, the administration's lack of haste and resolution are understandable. It is not just a matter of domestic policy factors in an America which is now engrossed in the preelection campaign and has not yet recovered from its own financial and economic disorders. It is also a question of the chaos and unpredictability which, many U.S. politicians and government officials believe, characterize the present situation in the former Union and which make it impossible to make long-term decisions.

NATO's Woerner Remarks at End of Baltic Visit

PM1803164592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 92 p 3

[Correspondent K. Markaryan report: "Do the Baltics Want NATO More Than NATO Wants the Baltics?"]

[Text] NATO's secretary general has visited the Baltic countries.

At a news conference following the official visits, M. Woerner replied that NATO is interested in preserving stability in the Baltic region, which to a considerable extent also determines security in Europe. The withdrawal of former Soviet troops, Woerner stressed—promising, incidentally, support on this question—should be achieved only by means of dialogue without confrontations, strengthening good neighborly relations. NATO's secretary general refused to publicly discuss individual aspects of the talks concerning territorial problems between Latvia and its neighbors, or the possible steps the North Atlantic bloc could take in response to a hypothetical stepping up of activities by the CIS Armed Forces in the Baltic region.

"I do not see any need to bring in NATO troops here, especially as there is no request about the need for such a step," Woerner said.

Woerner did promise to help in promoting the establishment of bilateral contacts (for the purpose of arms procurement) with the countries belonging to the military bloc.

While the reconstituted Lithuanian Army has no shortage of antitank weapons and even of "Stingers," things are seemingly a mite worse in the Latvian defense forces. True, on 12 March a Tu-154 aircraft delivered a large consignment of weapons and military equipment to Riga from Czechoslovakia in addition to the arsenal already available. As one Latvian newspaper gladdened its readers, every Latvian border guard will now receive his own assault rifle.

All the same, there are apparently not enough assault rifles. Apart from 5,000-6,000 border guards, the self-defense forces total 8,000-9,000 soldiers. This is not counting the 10,000-strong volunteer militia army. Virtually the whole republic is sewing uniforms for them. The first draft into the ranks of the self-defense forces and admission to studies at the republic Defense Ministry Academy of National Defense begin 1 April. Joking aside, by considerably loosening the purse strings for military needs, just who are Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—who along with Russia belong to NATO's Cooperation Council—intending to fight? Woerner said nothing about this.

Observers Arrive in Norway for NATO Exercise

LD1703211492 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Loskutov]

[Text] Oslo, March 17 TASS—A group of general staff officers of the United CIS Armed Forces arrived in Oslo on Tuesday [17 March] to observe the "Team Work-92" battle exercises of the NATO united armed forces, which involve about 45,000 military personnel from 11 countries.

The military observers were invited by Norway in accordance with an agreement on disarmament, security and trust in Europe. Between 20 and 25 March they are to observe the final manoeuvres—the landing of English, American and Dutch marines.

PRC Foreign Minister Qian on Ties With CIS

PM1603164192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Interview with PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen by Yuriy Tavrovskiy, datelined Beijing-Moscow; date not given: "Beijing Has Its Own Viewpoint on Everything. Conversation With PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen"]

[Text] [Tavrovskiy] How is the present international situation viewed from Beijing? What do you think of the "new world order" concept?

[Qian] The world's bipolar architecture ceased to exist as a result of major changes in the international situation. Nonetheless, things are still not quiet on our planet. The former contradictions and confrontation have disappeared, but new ones have emerged meanwhile. Developing countries find themselves in an increasingly difficult situation, the economic gap between North and South is widening. Generally speaking, the international situation will remain unstable and changeable. Peace and development—two important questions which perturb the peoples in all countries of the world—remain unresolved.

Our earth is yearning for peace, states aim for stability, the economy needs development—these are mankind's shared aspirations. In order to deepen reforms, expand external ties, and implement modernization, China needs both domestic stability and a peaceful international situation. China's leadership is prepared, jointly with the governments of various countries, to promote the creation of a new international political and economic order which would favor peace and development. This new order must not be built on the foundations of hegemonism and strong-arm policy. Attempts by one or several powers to monopolize international affairs are unrealistic. All countries, be they large or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are equal members of the international community. All states must respect one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity, must not attack or interfere in one another's internal affairs, and must adhere to the principles of equality, mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence. Each state has the right to make its contribution to the creation of the new international order. The United Nations has an important role to play in this process.

[Tavrovskiy] How are China's relations with the CIS states developing?

[Qian] Traditional friendship exists between the Chinese people and the peoples of all republics of the former Soviet Union. It must be emphasized that the Russian Federation and the Central Asian republics are China's close neighbors and the volume of bilateral relations is especially great. The Chinese Government invariably adheres to the following position: Not to interfere in other states' internal affairs, to respect the choice by each country's people. Proceeding from this position, at the end of last year China's Government announced its recognition of the independence of the former USSR's republics and signed joint communiques on the establishment of diplomatic relations with nine republics, one after the other. Since there is no question of reestablishing diplomatic relations between our country and the Russian Federation, the two sides simply signed a protocol on relations between the two countries. Talks are under way on the establishment of diplomatic relations with the remaining republics.

Ties between China and these states are gradually developing at present in all spheres, including high-level contacts. A meeting took place recently between PRC State Council Premier Li Peng and Russian Federation President Yeltsin during the summit conference of UN Security Council members. China was visited by the chairman of the Republic of Belarus Council of Ministers and the Republic of Kazakhstan prime minister. Leaders of several CIS member states will visit China in the near future.

Thanks to favorable factors such as historical ties, geographic proximity, and economic complementarity, development of bilateral relations between China and these states has a major potential for further development, which is in line with all sides' interests. I am convinced that there are favorable prospects for the development of bilateral relations between China and all CIS states on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and other principles enshrined in the joint communiques on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

[Tavrovskiy] Quite recently some countries tried to establish official ties with Taiwan. What does Beijing think of this?

[Qian] Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory and the PRC Government is the sole legitimate government representing all China. This has long been recognized by the international community. We invariably stand against the establishment of official relations and the maintenance of contacts of an official nature with

Taiwan by countries which have diplomatic relations with us but, at the same time, we do not object to the maintenance of strictly unofficial trade and economic relations with Taiwan. It has to be noted that the Taiwan authorities often resort to trade and economic means in attempts to establish "official contacts" and develop "official relations" with countries which have diplomatic relations with us, and even to pursue a "dual recognition" policy with a view to deliberately undermining these countries' friendly relations with China. We are categorically against this and we hope that all countries having diplomatic relations with us will strictly observe the principles laid down in the joint communiques on the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries, and will not establish relations of an official nature with Taiwan or take steps which would be detrimental to friendly relations with China.

[Tavrovskiy] Recently Chinese diplomacy has once again been encountering the problem of human rights, which representatives of various countries raise during talks. How would you comment on this situation?

[Qian] First, with regard to the concept of human rights, our understanding of human rights is broader. This is in keeping with the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of UN documents on human rights. Our understanding embraces not only the defense of political rights but also the guaranteeing of the rights that citizens must enjoy in the economic, social, cultural, and other spheres. It also concerns large-scale human rights violations that have resulted from a foreign invasion.

Second, the perception of human rights in view of the differences in the specific situation prevailing in each country is distinguished by the placing of accents. As a developing country with a large population, China considers it extremely important to resolve the question of how to ensure its people's right to exist and to develop. Without a guarantee of citizens' economic rights there can be no question of their personal rights because states have different situations and different perceptions of human rights. Thus, Switzerland, for example, has a developed economy, and its citizens enjoy political rights, but at the same time Swiss women do not have the right to full employment, and so great significance is attached there to resolving the question of equal rights for women. Let us take another example. In countries where the population frequently suffers from chronic famine, the right to be supplied with food is a problem of paramount importance. There can be no freedom for a starving people.

Third, human rights in a particular country must ultimately be exercised and upheld within the framework of national legislation. Every citizen has his own citizenship, for there are no persons of international citizenship in the world. For every citizen, his human rights are always safeguarded by the legislation of his own country. Therefore, to speak to the point, human rights relate to the internal affairs of a particular country. The United States has still not adopted a number of international human rights conventions, basing its stance on the claim that these conventions run counter to domestic U.S. legislation. This indicates that the United States in fact also regards human rights as its own country's internal affair.

Fourth, China is opposed to using the human rights issue as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of another country. Human rights must become a sphere of international cooperation, not one of waging "cold war." China recently published the "White Book on Human Rights in China," in which it set forth its position in detail. The United States has published a "blue book," in which it arbitrarily portrays the state of human rights in other countries, while at the same time not saying a word about the state of human rights in the United States itself. In my opinion, it would be better if each country were to comment on the situation in its own country.

Taiwan Interested in Promoting Relations

LD1603140692 Moscow TASS in English
0901 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo, March 16 TASS—"Taiwan is interested in promoting relations with CIS states," Taiwan Deputy Foreign Minister Chang Chiao-yan told the Japanese Newspaper "NIHON KEIZAI" today. According to Chang, Taiwan plans to devote particular attention to the promotion of relations with four former Soviet republics—Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Uzbekistan.

"The republics of the former Union have immense natural resources and cheap labour. They are also of great interest as potential areas of investment," Chang noted.

Assessing the recent expansion of relations between Taiwan and the Baltic Republics, Chang said China's negative reaction to this process "cannot be regarded as a wise policy".

Dwelling on his visit to Russia and Ukraine this January, Chang said that agreement was reached on Taiwan food aid to Russia and medical aid—to Ukraine.

Japan Considers Aid for Some CIS States

PM1803151592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Mar 92 Morning Edition p5

[Correspondent Sergey Agafonov report: "Japanese Cabinet's Central Asian Trump Card"]

[Text] Tokyo—The Japanese cabinet is actively studying the idea of giving official aid to meet the development needs of the former Soviet Central Asian republics: Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

There was never any talk of this before, because the republics were part of the united USSR and so the territorial problem was an impediment. Now they are sovereign republics and, most important of all, can be seen as developing countries from an economic point of view, which is the main condition of granting official aid.

According to press reports here, Japan may soon bring the question of giving the former Soviet Central Asian republics "developing country" status before a session of the special aid committee which acts as a consultative body attached to the OECD, an organization uniting the leading Western industrial countries. It goes without saying that, if the emphasis is indeed placed on Central Asia, this will inevitably "deflect" potential Japanese investment from other countries in the CIS.

However, Tokyo does not see this as a great problem, because Ukraine or Belarus, for example, are too developed to be candidates for offical aid, and the other sovereign states in the territory of the former Soviet Union are involved in interethnic conflict and internecine strife, which completely rules out the likelihood of active Japanese assistance. No mention is made of Russia in this context, which is understandable: On the one hand, Russia is not classed as a developing country and, on the other, aid to the Central Asian republics has obviously been conceived as a kind of trump card to be used in dialogue with the Russian authorities on the old territorial problem.

However, all these plans have a long way to go before being put into practice. Tokyo believes that, when taking this step, it must take account of the inevitable negative reaction from other developing countries, from which the CIS Central Asian republics—as potential recipients—will take a substantial proportion of Japanese aid. It must also take account of the far from enthusiastic stance of the West, which is counting on Japanese money being used to keep Russia from collapse first and foremost, with everything else taking a back seat. Another factor to be considered is the difficult situation in Japan itself. There is certainly no unanimity on the "credit question," and no one is committing the sin of charity. For example, delivering a lecture in the provinces two days ago, Keizo Obuchi, former secretary general of the ruling party, branded the requests for economic aid which guests from the former Soviet republics are bringing to Tokyo as "cadging." Considering Russian Minister Andrey Kozyrev is due to visit Japan this month, this statement is particularly topical.

In the opinion of specialists familiar with the subtleties of behind-the-scenes life in the Japanese capital, these obstacles are undoubtedly substantial but can be overcome if there is the "political desire" to do so. However, there is no point expecting a fundamental decision from Tokyo before May. As is well known, Michio Watanabe, vice premier and foreign minister, is planning a visit to the CIS that month, and he may need the "Central Asian trump card" during his visit.

Fighting Threatens Central Asian Republics

OW1803180292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The headquartes of the CIS border forces reported that fighting continues in the northern regions of Afghanistan close to the Uzbekistan and Tajikistan borders, between the Afghan opposition forces and border guards loyal to the Najibullah regime in Kabul.

Experts from the committee on preserving the borders warned that the military actions may move from Afghanistan into the Central Asian republics. They said the Afghans may cross the border to seige the civilian population, mine roads and steal livestock and other property.

Northern Europe To Reduce Aid to Baltics

OW1203233992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1931 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The northern countries are going to give the Baltic states less economic assistance that they originally intended to. The Estonia newspaper reports that at a recent meeting in Helsinki finance ministers from these countries agreed on 105 mln [million] ECU instead of the 300 promised earlier. Out of this amount 15 mln is to be given gratis and the rest as credit. Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt said the Northern countries did not wish to bear the whole brunt of aid to the Baltics. In his opinion other European states should make a greater contribution. Instead of a Baltic investment bank which it had been planned to set up, the Helsinki meeting decided to launch an investment programme which would be mainly financed by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Netherlands Firm To Modernize Pipeline Project

OW1803024692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1903 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The "Gazprom" joint-stock venture is currently working on installation of a new reserve pipeline under the Volga River which is to be connected with the Northern Caucasus-Makat (western Caucasus) gas pipeline. The reserve part of the pipeline will be installed at a depth of over 30 meters, and because the CIS does not have the technology needed to conduct installation at such depths, the Dutch firm "IXC Holland" will take part in the project. The firm has agreed to modernize equipment for working at those depths in August 1992. The project will cost 120,000 guilder.

Egypt, Others To Help Build Islamic Centers

PM1703160392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[RIA report: "$50 Million for CIS Muslims"]

[Text] Egypt and Arab states in the Persian Gulf are going to give urgent help in the creation of 10 Islamic centers in the Muslim republics of the CIS.

In the first stage $50 million will be allocated for this purpose. Each of the centers is planned to have an academic library, a mosque, a hospital, and a religious school as well as a school of housekeeping and handicrafts for girls.

Regional Conference Discusses Cooperation

AU1803095992 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] A regional conference represented by four countries has been held. It was attended by representatives of border regions of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Ukraine. My Transcarpathian colleague Ivan Shumeyskyy will tell us about this event.

[Shumeyskyy] The conference was held at the level of leaders of border regions in the Polish town of Jaslo, in the vicinity of the Ukrainian-Polish border. Naturally, the objectives of this conference and the accords reached there are of interest. It dealt mainly with the most extensive and closest interregional cooperation.

As a result of the Jaslo meeting, a joint communique was adopted that provides for a wide complex of measures directed toward realistic and mutually advantageous cooperation. In particular, it envisages a most extensive exchange of economic and trade information and the holding of border area and regional fairs and exhibitions of goods. The sides have undertaken to raise the question before their prospective governments on the creation of duty-free zones and opening new simplified crossings over state borders.

A specific agreement was reached at the meeting to elaborate, in the near future, a joint concept of the interregional technical infrastructure in the spheres of communications and transport. In my opinion, the following aspect is quite significant. To finance joint economic programs and boost border trade, it is planned to create an interregional investment and credit bank. Proposals to this effect have already been submitted to the governments of the four European countries.

The humanitarian sphere—popular diplomacy—cannot be ignored, either. In this sphere, very many concrete and extremely important [word indistinct] have been envisaged. They will involve meetings with relatives and friends who live in different countries but within the single Carpathian region, the creation of joint national parks and natural reserves, the development of joint border area tourism, and much more.

It was decided to elect an interregional council at the level of representatives of four countries and a coordination group that will include experts from central organs of power. As you can see, there can be no talk of any secret or separatist actions in this case.

Commonwealth

Preliminary Agenda for Kiev Summit Detailed

LD1903015892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1944 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Kiev—The working group to prepare the CIS summit meeting in Kiev has tabled 38 issues for discussion.

And this is not the limit, the press secretary of the president of Ukraine Leonid Kravchyuk, reported to PF [POSTFACTUM]. Other sources say that the agenda of the 20 March meeting includes 19 issues:

1. Agreement on the succession of the title to the property of the state archives, debts and assets of the former USSR.

2. Agreement on the division of the assets and liabilities of the former USSR state bank.

3. Agreement on the procedure of ratification, implementation and execution by the CIS member-states of the USSR-USA agreement on the reduction and limitation of the strategic offensive weapons and conventional forces in Europe.

4. Convention on the mutual relations of the CIS member-states on the location of movable property and real estate, equipment and material resources of the former union.

5. Agreement on the procedure of resolving conflicts between entities and organisations of the CIS member-states in the course of trade and economic cooperation.

6. Agreement on guarding the external frontiers and sea economic zones of the Commonwealth of States.

7. Resolution on the joint command of the frontier troops.

8. Agreement on the status of the Commonwealth's frontier troops.

9. Agreement on the jurisdiction of the agreement and other documents on defense matters, frontier troops.

10. Agreement on the powers of the Commonwealth of Independent States' supreme bodies on defense matters.

11. Resolution on the high command of the CIS Armed Forces and the status of the high command.

12. Agreement on the legal basis of the activities of the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth.

13. Agreement on the principles of drafting conscripts to the Joint Armed Forces, on service in them.

14. Agreement on law enforcement agencies of the Commonwealth.

15. Agreement on the use of the air space.

16. Agreement on the principles of supplying the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth with weapons, military equipment and other material resources. Organisation of scientific research and experimental and design work.

17. Agreement on the status of the general-purpose forces and the Joint Armed Forces for the transition period.

18. Protocol on adopting a list of Army formations, projects, included in the strategic forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

19. Resolution on appointing the chief of the General Staff, commander of the strategic forces, commander of the general-purpose troops of the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Ukraine Prepares Own Documents

MK1903085792 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 2

[Vera Kuznetsova report under the "News in Brief" rubric: "CIS Is Kiev's Guest"]

[Text] Getting ready to welcome its dear guests from the CIS, Ukraine has prepared its own draft agreements for the Council of Heads of State: On legal succession regarding treaties, all property, state archives, debts, and assets of the former USSR; and on the division of former USSR Gosbank [State Bank] assets and liabilities between the central banks of CIS member states. Kiev's experts have submitted an alternative version of the treaty on guarding the external borders and maritime economic zones of the CIS which speaks of guarding the state borders of CIS member states. Moreover, Ukraine has its own proposals for settling the Karabakh problem (a draft has been submitted by Armenia) and for a convention on the nonuse of force on CIS territory (a draft has been submitted by Kazakhstan).

The preliminary list of military agreements for 20 March includes: On the powers of CIS supreme organs on defense questions; on the peaceful resolution of disputes and conflicts on CIS territory; on the status of general-purpose forces of the CIS Joint Armed Forces over the transitional period; on the appointment of a chief of General Staff and commanders of the strategic forces and general-purpose forces; on the establishment of a corps of military observers and collective peacekeeping forces in the CIS; and on settling issues arising from the withdrawal of the former USSR's Western, Northwestern, and Northern Groups of Forces.

Moldova also intends to discuss the sociopolitical situation in the Dnestr regions and the republic as a whole at the Council of Heads of State. The CFE Treaty will not be ratified in Kiev, since agreements on arms quotas have not been reached at expert level.

Draft Military Agreements Viewed

LD1703182592 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—A total of ten documents to regulate the routine and activities of the CIS Allied Armed Forces will be submitted for consideration of the Council of CIS States' Heads to meet on March 20 in Kiev.

Three of the documents seem to be essential, head of the CIS Allied Armed Forces' Administrative Department Lieutenant-General Leonid Ivashov told an ITAR-TASS observer today.

It is necessary to specify the powers of the supreme CIS bodies on defence issues and the area of competence of the Supreme Command, as well as to elaborate the principles of the forces' formation and military duty procedure, the general said.

According to Ivashov's forecast the issue of a single defence budget, which remained unsolved after the Minsk summit in February, will not be solved at the upcoming meeting either.

He noted funds allocated by the Russian parliament to the Army and the Navy for the first quarter of this fiscal year are expiring, and there is no budget for the second quarter.

The situation, in Ivashov's opinion, is critical. The Armed Forces will soon have no money to pay for foodstuffs and personnel maintenance. Thus, the CIS Allied Armed Forces' Supreme Command will again try to raise the budget issue at the next CIS summit.

In the words of Ivashov, difficulties may be most feasible during the Kiev discussion of the third draft document—on principles of recruitment of the Allied Armed Forces.

An agreement on principles of providing troops with armaments, materiel and other material means, as well as scientific research and development, is also expected to provoke heated debate.

Commentary Previews Conference

AU1803113992 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] [First announcer] Radio Kiev proposes for your attention notes by a commentator on what the heads of states of the Commonwealth of Independent States are going to discuss in Kiev on 20 March.

[Second announcer] On 20 March, a meeting between heads of states of the Commonwealth of Independent States will take place in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine. Undoubtedly, this event will be crucial in this week's life of the Commonwealth. It is expected that the meeting will be attended by the highest-level leaders of all the 11 countries that are members of the Commonwealth. However, it cannot be ruled out that some of them may come to the capital of Ukraine. In any case, it is far from clear whether representatives of Azerbaijan and Moldova will participate. At the same time, it is not ruled out that representatives of Georgia will come to the meeting. At any rate, on 20 March, at the conference of heads of states of the Commonwealth in Moscow, Tengiz Sigua, the Georgian premier, confirmed the desire of his republic to take part in the work of the supreme consultative and coordination organs of the Commonwealth in the status of an observer or in any other status.

Questions of military development are primarily on the agenda of the Kiev meeting. At the preceding such meeting in Minsk, it was decided that the documents that had been prepared by that time need to be specified. They concern problems that are associated with the functioning of a single armed force, the command of strategic forces, and the process of disarmament. Naturally, questions of dividing military property will also be dealt with. It is also expected that the agenda will include a complex of documents that regulate economic interrelations between former Union republics that are now sovereign states. In all probability, the questions of dividing the property of the former Union and the assets and liabilities of the USSR State Bank will become a stumbling block. Regarding these questions, there are opposing points of view, and it will be extremely difficult to reach a compromise.

The decision by the Russian Government to liberalize prices of oil and petroleum products may become a bomb at the meeting. Many countries of the Commonwealth are not ready to undertake this decisive step that is difficult for the economy, because it may be followed by yet another spiral of the general price increase.

The agreement on the timetable and procedure for the ratification of the agreement on the reduction of offensive weapons may also become a question that will be discussed in Kiev. Experts believe that the Kiev list will not include the question of the fate of the Black Sea Fleet. Its discussion must be preceded by a meeting between leaders of Ukraine and Russia and their decision in principle on this problem. Finally, it cannot be ruled out that the questions of maintaining a single information space on the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States and of creating an international television and radio broadcasting company will be discussed in Kiev.

Congress of USSR People's Deputies Statement

PM1903112992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 1

["Statement of Sixth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] 17 March 1992—We the USSR people's deputies who gathered for the sixth extraordinary congress state to the peoples of the country and the entire world community that the agreements signed in Belovezhskaya Forest between the presidents of Belorussia, Russia, and Ukraine from the viewpoint of the USSR Constitution, articles 28 and 29 of the Law "on the USSR Referendum," and article 35 of the Law "on the RSFSR Referendum," are not grounds for rescinding the results of the nationwide referendum and dissolving the supreme organ of power of the USSR.

We state that the USSR as a historically formed territorial community of people does exist.

On 17 March 1991 the majority of the country's population expressed itself in favor of a renewed Union. Under the USSR Constitution only the people and a new referendum can change that decision.

The republics' referenda resolved questions of their own peoples but not of the unity of the entire Union. They did not ask: "Are you for or against withdrawing from the Union?" Each republic, under the USSR Constitution, its own constitution, and international norms, has the right to resolve only its own fate. We suggest to the parliamentarians of the union republics that they gather to elaborate the new text of the Union treaty.

The fate of the Union as an existing state formation can be resolved only by the entire population or by a meeting of the population's elected representatives—the congress of USSR people's deputies.

The congress appeals to the USSR population which has expressed itself in favor of preserving the Union to support efforts aimed at preventing the final disintegration of society. Human rights are the supreme right. They are the real sovereign. All other structures are superstructural and secondary in relation to these rights.

Chernavin Nomination for USSR President Denied

LD1803182992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1732 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Mar—"Admiral of the Fleet Vladimir Chernavin, commander of the Navy, has no connection with the sixth extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the former USSR, he did not consent to stand for any posts in the 'new leadership of the Soviet Union', and no one approached him on the matter," Captain (1st rank) Valeriy Novikov, head of the naval press service, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent today.

Today, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, which is published by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, said, in particular, in its account of the sixth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which took place on 17 March, near Moscow, that "the new leadership of the Soviet Union" was elected at the meeting. Without giving its source, the paper claims that Admiral Chernavin was nominated for the post of president.

Former Nationalities Head on 'Vague' Borders

OW1903011192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1403 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgiy Tarazevich, head of the Belarussian State Geodesy Committee and former chairman of the nationalities policy and inter-ethnic relations commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities, has told IF [INTERFAX] that 60% of the borders between ex-Soviet republics are rather vague. For example, the border between Belarus and Lithuania was juridically established in 1940 but has never been demarcated in practical terms. Collective and state farms in Lithuania and Belarus have observed the border "by mutual agreement" and repeatedly changed it according to their own economic interests. Besides, the ground relief in the border area has substantially changed over the years.

According to Tarazevich, his committee is now compiling, on agreement with Lithuania and Latvia, a map of the border districts which it intends to complete before the year's end. Nevertheless, he said, the parliaments of the independent republics must decide in principle how to draw the inter-republican borders—either in accordance with the existing juridical documents or depending on the actual pattern of land tenure. Tarazevich warned that failure to decide the border question without delay might "cause things to take a dangerous turn."

Military

General Denies Arms Sales to Azerbaijan

LD1803133792 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Anar Kadirli for TASS]

[Text] Baku March 18 TASS—"The statement of Armenian president that the 4th Army sells its weapons to Azeri armed groups is groundless", General Sufiyan Beppayev, deputy commander of the troops deployed in Transcaucasia, told reporters on Wednesday [18 March].

Such statements discredit the command of the Army and the personnel, he added.

Beppayev said he had met Azerbaijani acting President Yakub Mamedov late on Tuesday and briefed him on the position of the Army command on the issue.

Troops stationed in Transcaucasia are to protect the region from outside aggression, the general said. He did not elaborate which states are viewed as potential aggressors, but said the creation of a national army in Azerbaijan is not expedient.

It is only the goodwill of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, their joint efforts that can bring peace to the zone of conflict (in Nagorno-Karabakh), Beppayev said.

The deputy commander arrived in Baku to prevent possible clashes between the military stationed there and the local population. "We should do everything possible to prevent any provocations and to bar violations both by the military and the citizens", he said.

Transcaucasus Commander Cited on Withdrawal

LD1803141792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1210 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Colonel-General Valeriy Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasian troops, touching on the possible pullout of the Commonwealth troops from Transcaucasia, told PF [POSTFACTUM]: Politicians will decide whether we leave or stay here. Prudence is needed here.

In adopting the decision to withdraw troops from Transcaucasia, one needs to be mindful that the powerful group of NATO troops remained and there is no talk in the West about dissolving it. As a commander, I have civilized relations with the commander of the Third Field Army of Turkey. But its functions were not cancelled by anyone either.

Turkey began modernizing the army and building up its combat potential, purchasing modern types of armaments and military equipment. I stand for living peacefully, for being engaged in creative endeavors, but one should not fail to see the objective realities. Let's assume that the troops are withdrawn, in this case one does not have even to speak about some military balance in the region. Can they confront the well-equipped army with stolen machine- and submachine-guns here? Or to set up national armies? Possibly, there is reason in this move, but then it would be in place to take a pen and a sheet of paper and calculate how much will the creation of national armies will cost to republics. According to Patrikeyev, the way out of this situation can be as follows: As the Transcaucasian republics are now sovereign states, Russia should take troops under its control and legalize their stay on Transcaucasian territory with inter-republican agreements.

If the decision to pull out the troops is made, I ask you to take into account that we will not be able to leave Transcaucasia either in a day, a month or even a year. One should think first and foremost about people. There are some 30,000 families in the Transcaucasian Military District, how can they be moved into the open field. Troops have quitted Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The withdrawal of our troops from Poland will be completed in 1992. Troops stationed in the Baltics and Germany are next to move out. Why should additional problems be created in the south? Patrikeyev insists that the decision on the pullout of troops be taken at the level of the Commonwealth heads of government and heads of state. We should know that everything is well thought-out and coordinated here. We should receive an order to pull out troops and the minimum terms for its fulfillment. Patrikeyev thinks a transition period of several years is needed. He firmly believes it is a very risky move to withdraw troops from Transcaucasia in the current very unstable situation. Where are the guarantees that garrisons will not be blocked by local armed groups which are engaged in the intensive search for weapons and military equipment. Where are the guarantees that our echelons will not be sidetracked? As for myself, I do not have such guarantees. Therefore, I am strongly in favour of efforts to stabilize the situation in the region, to solve all issues only by political means. You know how difficult negotiations to free ten servicemen who were taken hostage in Artik proceeded. The Transcaucasian Military District was ready to use force, but we understood that this is a last resort method that could be used only in case the negotiations did not produce anything. Of course, we could besiege Artik, comb it square after square and ultimately put weapons and equipment to use. But who would suffer in this case? Mostly, civilians.

Nothing can shake my firm conviction: If some problems arose, the parties concerned should sit down at the negotiating table and look for a compromise, the points of the convergence of interests no matter how different they are. I am prepared to invite all parties which are locked in conflict in Transcaucasia to the military district's headquarters and act a mediator at talks, Patrikeyev said.

Russian Control of Transcaucasus Troops Proposed

LD1903094492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Troops who find themselves at the centers of conflicts frequently become the objects of attacks themselves. Sad statistics: In two months of this year alone, 118 attacks were made on units of the Transcaucasian Military District; 13 soldiers and officers were killed.

Who will protect our protectors? Pyankov, deputy head of the Central Directorate of the CIS Armed Forces, has proposed that the armed forces of the Transcaucasian district should be subordinated directly to Russia. In his opinion, the district should also be renamed the Transcaucasian group of troops.

Samsonov Interviewed on Military Situation

PM1803120592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 92 pp 1-2

[Captain Second Class O. Odnokolenko account of interview with Colonel General V. Samsonov, chief of the General Staff of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, by unnamed ITAR-TASS, IZVESTIYA, and KRASNAYA

ZVEZDA correspondents; place, date not given: "Everyone Suffers From Legal Vagueness, But the Army In Particular"]

[Text] [IZVESTIYA] Comrade Colonel General, does the CIS Joint Armed Forces leadership have a program for reacting to the situation our troops have found themselves facing in the Transcaucasus: Shelling, attacks, and hostage taking?... Maybe there is already a program—a program indeed!—for withdrawing the troops?

[Samsonov] What can I say in response to your questions? First of all, it is probably not entirely correct to address those questions solely to the Joint Armed Forces leadership. Unfortunately, not everyone realizes that the decision to redeploy troops is the prerogative neither of the Higher Command nor of the General Staff. Decisions on this score are made by the governments and the Supreme Soviets. We merely make proposals; these are ratified, I would emphasize, by governments and presidents.

To talk specifically about the situation in the Transcaucasus Military District, it is exceptionally complex. Assessing the state of affairs, analyzing the situation, and forecasting subsequent developments, we have regrettably concluded that things are most likely to develop in the direction of an intensification of confrontation and ultimately will lead to an armed clash between Armenia and Azerbaijan with no holds barred. We do not yet see any glimmers of a political solution to the conflict. There are many grounds for this conclusion. Whereas it had seemed previously that it was all just a question of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, recent events have shown that this is not quite the case. I am thinking of the fact that so-called armed conflicts—more precisely, combat operations—currently are being conducted by Armenia on Azerbaijani territory and by Azerbaijan on Armenian territory. Cities are being destroyed and civilians are being killed... The tragedy is compounded by the fact that the local authorities are not just unable to manage the situation, they simply have no control over it. Things would not be so bad if all the military formations were under unified command, but we can see that combat operations are being conducted by sundry groups without plans or goals, and motivated by just one thing: ethnic hatred.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] And not just ethnic hatred; it is also obvious that overtly bandit elements are actively participating in the conflict.

[Samsonov] Absolutely right. In addition, however, we need to take national characteristics into account. Many people have taken up arms out of a desire for vengeance. My house has been destroyed or burned down, so I must get my revenge by destroying or burning; what and where are unimportant, and that is what is frightening.

We also are worried about the fact that armies—the 4th Army on Azerbaijani territory and the 7th Army on Armenian territory—have found themselves hostage to the political situation, to this confrontation between two peoples. They are being divided up any old way, and their weapons are being pilfered and seized... I have been asked what the leadership's reaction is. I must say that for a relevant reaction to be possible we would need at least some kind of law, a legal basis! We have neither a law on defense, a law on the status of servicemen, nor a really functioning provision on the procedure for military service. Moreover, we have in no way been able to ensure that the Transcaucasus Military District is placed under Russian jurisdiction.

[IZVESTIYA] But President Yeltsin announced this back at the All-Army Officers' Assembly...

[Samsonov] The fact is that announcing your intention is not everything. This should be followed by other actions predicated on legal norms.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] We understand that this legal vagueness is creating great difficulties for the military leadership, but things are even harder for the servicemen who have to serve on other states' territories without any legal support. What is the point of discussing the matter if even the CIS oath has gone largely unimplemented?

[Samsonov] Yes, there are many overtones. For instance, we do not object to the fact that each state is entitled to its own armed forces. Since this is the case, a procedure should be laid down in law regarding which hardware and armaments should be transferred to the state, in what way, and in what quantities, but this does not mean that everything on your territory can be privatized indiscriminately. This is the principle currently in operation, a principle far removed from legal norms and civilized relations. It was laid down by Ukraine, and now it is being exploited successfully by Moldova, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.

On the other hand, people are accusing us and asking us why we are giving everything away so easily. To those who have never been in our so-called hot spots, and to those who argue from their offices and parliamentary seats, such accusations probably seem well founded...

[ITAR-TASS] Viktor Nikolayevich, the journalists here have visited the conflict regions several times, so we do not have an office-bound approach to the problem you have mentioned.

[Samsonov] I realize that. What if we put the question to parliamentarians as follows: What laws is the Army currently living under? If these are peacetime laws, we have no right to use weapons anywhere except at a military installation, and then only in the event of a clear attack. In no circumstances should they be used in cities or on the streets. However, if we determine that the Army is in a state of war, then that is an entirely different matter...

I myself remember a case when a paratrooper captain in the Transcaucasus quite lawfully used his weapon on a vehicle which had deliberately run down a servicemen.

This happened within the context of a state of emergency, but nonetheless the paratrooper was virtually brought to trial. What for? For not letting himself be run over too?

In short, the military is in a very difficult position. We need only to analyze all the known cases of attacks and it becomes clear that they are being carried out in a very thoughtful and sophisticated way. Take the attacks in Chechnya or the attacks in Yerevan and Baku. Women and children are pushed to the front, and the gunmen follow on behind. How can weapons be used in these circumstances? So it is easy to argue and rebuke the Army, but for the Army to defend itself we need finally to work out where we stand legally, and to clearly state, for instance, whether it is currently operating under peacetime or wartime conditions. Then everything will fall into place.

Furthermore, you can carry out your mission without looking over your shoulder when you know that your family is protected, but when an officer's family lives in a city and is warned to bear in mind that in the event of something happening they would be butchered... In such circumstances it is hard in human terms to demand resolute action from anyone.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Viktor Nikolayevich, we realize that Army equipment now is being obtained by various means: seizure or privatization. On the other hand, there are increasingly frequent allegations in the press that the military department itself is trading in weapons. Could you comment on that?

[Samsonov] We have in our time been given permission to sell wheeled equipment and other military property. As for the Transcaucasus and the Baltic, there have been no cases—even cases not coordinated with the leadership—of weapons being bought or sold with a view to conducting combat operations. There have been other cases, the treachery of battalion commander Mudrak, for example. We investigate every such case and institute criminal proceedings, but there have been no cases of commanders or other senior officials, as you put it, selling weapons.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] One other question on weapons: Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy recently stated that nuclear weapons were still present on Transcaucasian territory, contrary to all previous assurances; how do you assess this?

[Samsonov] That statement by the vice president was a clear mistake [zabluzhdeniye]. All nuclear weapons were withdrawn from Transcaucasian territory back when I was chief of the Transcaucasus Military District, that is, before summer 1990.

[ITAR-TASS] Can you say that with total confidence? After all, a statement from the Russian vice president does mean something...

[Samsonov] Yes I can. When the statement was made I checked things out again—who knew what might have happened!—just to see if anything had been left behind anywhere... No, nothing was left behind anywhere. Maybe he was talking about dual-based launch vehicles, but the vice president is a military man; he should not make mistakes about such things.

[IZVESTIYA] We realize that the picture in the Transcaucasus is depressing. Nonetheless, Viktor Nikolayevich, we would like a clear answer: Will the 7th and 4th Armies be withdrawn and will families be evacuated? Or, as Vice President Rutskoy stated the other day, will these Armies perhaps be staffed on a contract basis?

[Samsonov] Back in February we submitted an official proposal that these Armies be placed under Russian jurisdiction. In the absence of this decision, we cannot start the withdrawal, since Armenia and Azerbaijan already have stated that the troops on their national territories belong to them. Currently we have sent proposals to the vice president and to Comrade Burbulis asking for the question of the transfer of the Transcaucasus Military District to Russian jurisdiction to be expedited. Moreover, proposals to the government regarding the stationing of the troops have been drafted already, but of course, under no circumstances can we cope with this matter ourselves. The families of the servicemen alone account for 27,000 people. And what about our facilities? Counting all the places at all our leisure centers and sanatoriums we could house only 9,000 people. In short, only Russia is capable of completely resolving this task.

But then how are other states withdrawing their armies? In 1991 the decision was made to withdraw the British Army of the Rhine. It will be withdrawn in 1995, when all the necessary facilities for it will be in place.

[ITAR-TASS] Particularly as they will not be withdrawing under fire, unlike ours. The 366th regiment, for example.

[Samsonov] I am not even referring to that. No doubt you know that the Armenian president also ordered the takeover of all the military equipment on the territory of the republic. How do you withdraw it then? Again it all hinges on legal norms. Were the Transcaucasus Military District under Russian jurisdiction we would know what to do.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Viktor Nikolayevich, if the Russian Government makes the relevant decision, how long, from the purely technical viewpoint, will it take to withdraw forces from the territory of Armenia and Azerbaijan?

[Samsonov] Given the requisite political, legal, and material backup, I think it will take at least six months. Any other timetable is unrealistic.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Particularly inasmuch as forces have to be withdrawn from the Baltic republics as well. I think in this context you are aware of the ultimatum by the officers of the Daugavpils Academy and the officers of the Black Sea Fleet naval aviation regiment, which is in Moldova. How are their problems being tackled?

[Samsonov] What I can say about the Baltic republics and Moldova is, in the first place, that there is basically nowhere for the forces to be withdrawn to. The plan was to withdraw and accommodate units from the Western amd Northwestern groups during this period, but now we have this additional factor. I received instructions the other day to provide the Russian Federation president before 16 March with proposals on accelerating the withdrawal of forces from the Western group. I marveled at these instructions: How can we speed it up when we are accommodating people in tents already. We already have 170,000 people without proper accommodation. How many more do we want?

In these conditions we have to trade, of course, in order to get money for construction. Every category of the Armed Forces is looking for an opportunity. For example, we have obtained Boris Nikolayevich's personal permission to sell 1,000 aircraft...

[ITAR-TASS] What aircraft will be sold, and to what countries?

[Samsonov] I am talking about MiG-21's and MiG-23's. We will sell them to countries that have bought our weapons in the past, but they will not be going to the Persian Gulf zone.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Another problem arises here. It is clear now that we have lost control over our single airspace, that is, our single air defense system and ABM system have been to some extent disrupted. At this very moment in the Western world more and more people are saying that if the processes here become uncontrollable, there is the possibility not only of the [UN] "Blue Helmets" being used on our territory, but also of certain types of weapons being used. Can we counter this?

[Samsonov] If you are talking about the outbreak of a military conflict, it would be difficult to counter it. Our first strategic echelon is completely kaput, there is no disguising that. In fact, in order to create a first-echelon grouping we put everything into the border districts—Kiev, Carpathian, Baltic, and so on.

Not for nothing did we propose at the talks that the ABM system be incorporated in the strategic forces and be treated as a means of collective security... Unfortunately this did not happen, so all this was destroyed. We also were forced to remove all the radar posts from the Transacaucasus. The reason being that they were being attacked, and more often than the combat units were being attacked.

In other words, our defenses are very much weakened, especially in the south. And if, as you say, the need arises to tackle combat tasks, we will be able to do that only by using the facilities that exist at the center. There is no longer a single defense system.

[ITAR-TASS] Viktor Nikolayevich, what about Kiev? Do you excpect there to be any developments at the talks?

[Samsonov] I do not have any particular hopes regarding the meeting in Kiev. For example, we drafted 40 documents for the Minsk meeting. The collegium selected the 10 most important, but none of them was adopted: For example, the document on funding. It was so badly mangled that as a result only Russia is funding the Army. Of all the adopted documents only one is worthwhile: the decision to create Joint Armed Forces. It, at least, justified our existence.

For this meeting, too, we prepared 10 documents. Only five were selected. They are absolutely indispensable. They include an agreement on the question of manning. Indeed, on the eve of the spring draft, we are almost at the 50 percent manning mark, and no one is doing anything. While Russia has only 22 percent of the requisite number of conscripts.

We get criticized, yet the situation is such that we can no longer protect ourselves. There is no one to do it! There are units where officers are doing guard duty. That is a disgrace!

[IZVESTIYA] Since we are on the subject of Kiev, the two questions that are worrying everyone are the Black Sea Fleet and tactical nuclear weapons, the withdrawal of which Ukraine has suspended.

[Samsonov] Unfortunately we have not been able to agree on the Black Sea Fleet...

[IZVESTIYA] Excuse me for interrupting you right away. Do you not have the impression that the intrigues involving nuclear weapons are a means of forcing Russia to hand over more of the Fleet in exchange for the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory?

[Samsonov] This may be, because the first breaches of the nuclear weapon withdrawal schedule occurred precisely because of the "Fleet." They proposed to us that the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons begin from the Fleet, and then promised to resolve the withdrawal of the remainder. We revised the schedule and I gave the order to begin the withdrawal from the Fleet—we had no more than 100 warheads [zaryad] there—but once again everything ground to a halt... Therefore it is quite possible that the present situation concerning tactical nuclear weapons will be used as a lever in the solution of the Fleet problem. President Kravchuk's statements are nothing more than political games. They have not been thought out at all in technical terms and are designed more to force other states—primarily Russia—to talk with Ukraine as a nuclear state.

Nor is it true that Russia has not perfected the technology for the destruction of nuclear munitions. We have four excellent plants. The only snag is the insufficient number of storage facilities for radioactive waste. However, it will be extremely difficult, even impossible, for Ukraine to create such a facility there, especially within the deadline it has given. It is necessary to know the special characteristics and technology of such a facility. By creating one Ukraine automatically will violate the nonnuclear principles it has proclaimed itself.

[IZVESTIYA] At a news conference [Deputy Chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Main Directorate] General Zelentsov said that the nuclear weapons never belonged to Ukraine and never will. Is there any possibility of removing those weapons because otherwise Russia itself will be in breach of its commitments on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, will it not? Are there any plans or methods for this?

[Samsonov] First of all we have political guarantees because the nuclear weapons are part of the strategic forces. These weapons cannot belong to Ukraine. And then the special installations have a multitier protection system, the key to which is in the hands of the Joint Armed Forces' leadership.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In other words, each of these installations is like a small-scale Brest Fortress?

[Samsonov] Yes, these are installations that can defend themselves. At least, they cannot be seized right away.

[IZVESTIYA] But they cannot hold out for months like the Brest Fortress...

[Samsonov] Of course not, but I think we have the possibility of rendering outside help. It is more difficult with tactical nuclear weapons, of course. Here I have to say that we have withdrawn more than 50 percent of these weapons already.

[ITAR-TASS] There is much talk now that we are transferring a battalion to the United Nations and yet cannot keep order in our own house. People are saying that it would be better to specially train the troops and send them into the actual conflict zones so as to end the bloodshed there once and for all.

[Samsonov] This is purely my personal opinion: Of course it is too soon for us to resolve conflicts under the UN flag. We must try to sort things out for ourselves first.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You hinted that you know how much combat hardware is in the hands of the Armenian and Azerbaijani formations. Is it not time to stop prevaricating and publish these figures?

[Samsonov] I am preparing that information for the High Command for its report to the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium, so for the time being we must wait. On the whole they are armed equally.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Has the origin of the Grad launchers, which both sides are using in Karabakh, been established?

[Samsonov] For a long time it was believed that these launchers had entered the conflict zone from across the Caucasus mountains, from Rostov-na-Donu, but now we know that three launchers belonged to the 4th Army and the origin of another has not been established yet.

Sevicemen's Committee Head Holds News Conference

Army Must Be Ready To End Violence

OW1903023192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The armed forces must be ready to prevent bloodshed in the former Soviet Union, said Chairman of the CIS Armed Forces' Committee for Servicemen, Major-General Nikolay Stolyarov. He said that the army could not stay on the sidelines at a time when cynical acts of violence were committed against civilians.

Speaking at a press conference on Wednesday [18 March], he also said that efforts to form armed forces will be inefficient and its activity will be unpredictable if we fail to define the military doctrine and see where the threats are coming from. General Stolyarov also said that he and Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Armed Forces, Marshal Shaposhnikov, have to overcome serious resistance of the old defence ministry.

Suggests Independent Trade Unions

LD1903052192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] The Army will be capable of tackling the problems of servicemen's social protection on its own if independent army trade unions are set up within it. Nikolay Stolyarov, chief of the committee for work with personnel and deputy commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces, stated this at a news conference on 18 March. However, Stolyarov said, there is opposition in the General Staff to the idea of establishing trade unions in the Army.

Baltics

'Vagueness' of Border Guard Troops' Status Eyed

PM1803131592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Irina Litvinova report: "Our Own Border Lies Open While We Protect Someone Else's"]

[Text] The border troops of the former USSR in the Baltics have found themselves in a strange situation. On the one hand, they can see that their work is more necessary than ever before; on the other hand, they still belong to no one.

The border troops in the Baltics were not covered by the president's decree transferring the Northwestern Group of Forces and the Baltic Fleet to the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation.

"On the whole we form part of CIS structures," Valentin Gaponenko, commander of the Baltic Border District, said. "We are subordinate to the Committee for the Protection of the Borders of the Commonwealth. But Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia are, after all, outside the Commonwealth and consequently we are guarding a foreign border. Our own border, the Russian border, however, is unsupervised. Until it is properly equipped and guarded, Russia will sustain considerable economic losses. The export of strategic raw materials has become the 'speciality' of dozens of firms in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia."

The vagueness of their legal status presents the border troops with difficult problems. The Latvian parliament, for example, has already passed several resolutions relating to the border district: Taking, for instance, the border at the "Riga" checkpoint under the Latvian state's jurisdiction. The former Soviet border troops cannot leave the airport and sea port, because they guarantee the security of Russia at this current border protection point.

But it is difficult not to react to the decisions of the Baltic parliaments. Moreover, some politicians have recently issued dangerous appeals, saying that one should have no qualms about using force to defend the interests of the republic.

One's own people among foreigners? Foreigners among one's own people? The border troops of the former USSR in the Baltics want to be among their own people as quickly as possible. They consider that Russia has an interest in summoning them to guard the Russian borders as quickly as possible.

Troop Withdrawal To 'Officially Begin' 19 Mar

LD1903060492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 17 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] More and more units of the former Soviet Army are preparing to withdraw from the Baltics. On 18 March, installations of the first military unit in the settlement of Salacgriva are being transferred to Latvian jurisdiction. And on 19 March, the withdrawal of the first units from the republic will officially begin.

According to Baltic countries, there are about 70,000 servicemen in Latvia. On the territory of neighboring Lithuania there are over 60,000. The figures for Estonia are disputed. It is a most odd dispute: Estonian officials say that the military are trying not to understate the numbers of troops in the republic as they used to do, but to overstate them. Estonians consider that the military are doing this in order to receive as much compensation as possible for the withdrawal of the troops. Tallinn say that it is being presented with figures of 100,000 servicemen while, according to Estonian calculations, there are not more than 30,000 of them.

International Affairs

Kozyrev Meets With South Korean President

LD1903113592 Moscow TASS in English 1054 GMT 19 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Oleg Abramkin and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Seoul, March 19 TASS—South Korean President No Tae-u and visiting Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev discussed bilateral relations on Thursday [19 March], paying special attention to an official visit which Russian President Boris Yeltsin was invited to pay to South Korea. A treaty on friendship and cooperation, as well as trade and economic ties between the two countries were also in the focus of attention.

The latest developments in the Korean Peninsula, as well as international affairs were discussed.

The South Korean president said he was "glad to receive in Seoul the first foreign minister of the Russian Federation". No Tae-u reiterated his invitation to Boris Yeltsin to visit Seoul which he first extended to him during his 1990 visit to Moscow. The president said he would be glad to have a new meeting which will be "interesting and fruitful for both countries".

Arrives in Japan

LD1903112792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Japan today on an official visit. Preparations for the visit of President Boris Yeltsin to Japan, which is planned for September, will be the main aim of his talks in Tokyo. Territorial issues that currently block the signing of a peace treaty between our countries will be discussed in Tokyo at talks with Japanese leaders. According to a representative of the Japanese Government, Japan would like to have a careful approach to the Russian position on territorial issues.

Visit to Japan

WA1903162792

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Kozyrev to Japan, to discuss a territorial dispute and bilateral relations, including reports on his talks with his counterpart Michio Watanabe and Japanese Prime Minister Miyazawa, please see the Japan section of the 19 March East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Results of Kozyrev's Visit to PRC Assessed

PM1903104992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Yuriy Savenkov: "A. Kozyrev's 30 Hours in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing—When will a Russian-Chinese summit meeting take place? How will relations develop between the two countries in the field of disarmament and confidence-building measures? Will the sensitive topic of human rights, which has long clouded relations between China and the West, be a stumbling block for Moscow and Beijing?

These three topics were heard in Beijing perhaps more loudly than others during Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev's visit. He spent 30 hours in Beijing. Obviously, that is too little to receive an answer to all questions. But in our century, when history has allocated only a little time to reflection, even those hours mean quite a lot. A. Kozyrev believes that relations with China, as with other powers in the East, are a priority avenue for Russian diplomacy. As before, both sides want to develop cooperation—political, economic, scientific and technical, and cultural.

As for foreign policy, it should be a continuation of what Russia has inherited from Soviet-Chinese relations. That is why, the minister believes (here and later he seems to be conducting polemics with an invisible opponent) there is no need to conclude a large number of diverse agreements with China, in contrast to the other CIS countries (let us recall that I. Karimov, who has just returned from China to Tashkent, came away with 15 documents in his suitcase!) Moscow, Kozyrev believes, thinks differently. Let us work on the treaty, which could crown the summit meeting. The minister refused to predict the date for B. Yeltsin's visit.

With regard to disarmament concerns, the minister told his Chinese counterparts that the reduction of the armed forces by 700,000 men applies to a considerable degree also to the Eastern part of Russia. The question of the so-called retargeting of nuclear weapons and other initiatives in the West will not lead to an increase in the military threat in the East, on the contrary here too they will promote security. The Chinese side assesses positively Russia's disarmament initiatives. The small hitch in the talks on reducing armed forces and building confidence in the region of the Russian-Chinese border is purely technical (it is not easy to find the funds to finance the delegations!) but the Chinese foreign minister has already conveyed an invitation to the latest, Beijing, round of talks and it will take place soon.

The human rights issue is more complex. Here views differed. But in Kozyrev's opinion, frankness of opinions should be the rule for Moscow and Beijing. Human rights are an organic part of Russian reforms and Moscow is interested in developing international cooperation in this sphere, primarily for reasons relating to its own democratic development. It is for precisely that reason that Moscow advocates enlisting international experts to analyze domestic legislation and does not object to monitoring and verification measures in the human rights field. China, on the other hand, proceeds from the premise that human rights should be subordinate to the concept of noninterference in internal affairs.

The right to existence—to food, clothing, and a roof over your head—comes first for the Chinese. Civil liberties play a subordinate role, they must be viewed in the historical perspective, proceeding from China's specific conditions.

Kozyrev developed in Beijing the idea of a new model for relations with China. They should be devoid of ideological cliches and still more of ideological rivalry. The countries should collaborate as guarantors of stability in various regions, counter new threats, and cooperate in completing a settlement in Cambodia and in struggling against extremism and terrorism. In his view, the relations should be based on pragmatism (for instance, Russia intends to develop nongovernment ties with Taiwan at a level characteristic of the majority of other countries, without harming political relations with China.

"Are the Chinese not worried that you intend to develop ally relations with the West in the long term, without offering China relations on this level, and is there not a new ideologization here?" I asked the minister. The minister did not feel concern. Indeed, the discussion, in his view, proceeded at the information level and not to remove mutual concern. His Chinese interlocutors described their foreign policy affairs, and the Russians described theirs.

Here is how the minister sees China after the trip. A great country. A dynamic one. Its foreign policy is characterized by balance, realism, and pragmatism. But on the other hand, A. Kozyrev believes, in Asia the experiment of the socialist type has not justified itself, there is nothing that can take the place of human rights, a pluralist democracy, and free enterprise. In Asia the model of modern civilization based on democracy and the market is producing big returns.

It seemed to me that this approach obviously lacks flexibility. After all, Chinese civilization is based on other values: A person feels he is part of something more general (a collective or nation). In contrast to European civilization, the individual there has never been the supreme value. There is something specific written into the nation's genetic code. The refusal to accept a different assessment is in the long term fraught, at best, with the danger of noncomprehension between the partners. The time has come for us to grow into the Asian and pacific region and to offer our values (including Slav values) there, without rejecting other values. We are obviously being slow in this region, and nature abhors a vacuum. Actually, there are new trips ahead: to Seoul and Tokyo. That is just the beginning.

More on PRC Visit

PM1803161592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 3

[Article by A. Golts: "Beginning Which Has Become a Continuation"]

[Text] Reproaches that it is characterized by a strictly "Western" orientation have become a commonplace of many domestic and foreign critics of Russia's foreign policy. So that a kind of supertask for Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev's current tour of Asian countries is in my view to demonstrate Moscow's sincere desire to develop all-around relations with our Eastern neighbors. If this aim indeed exists then it seems to have been achieved in Beijing.

It is not secret that A. Kozyrev's visit to Beijing has attracted special attention. The uncertain pause which occurred in contacts between Beijing and Moscow after the collapse of the Union has made it possible to construct the most diverse suppositions. Now the results of the talks with PRC State Council Premier Li Peng and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen gave A. Kozyrev every grounds for stating that Russia's relations with China are acquiring a priority avenue in our country's foreign policy.

A. Kozyrev told journalists that in the long term Russia will work on the preparation of a major agreement of a treaty nature with China. Quite a lot has been achieved already. Thus, during a talk with the head of the Chinese Government there was confirmation of the invitation to the Russian president to pay an official visit to the PRC (which has enabled many foreign observers the opportunity to suggest that the visit will be in the second half of the year). The sides also exchanged instruments of ratification on an agreement on the Eastern part of the Russian-Chinese border.

Naturally, security problems occupied a considerable place at the talks between representatives of the two great powers. The Russian minister assessed highly China's decision to accede to the nuclear weapons nonproliferation treaty. A. Kozyrev informed him that the implementation of Russia's disarmament initiatives on which talks are now under way with the United States and other Western countries will not only not lead to an increase in the military potential in the East but will on the contrary promote the consolidation of security in that region too. A. Kozyrev suggested in this connection that they think about the possibility of the mutual renunciation of the deployment of certain agreed types of tactical nuclear weapons in the border regions, which are being discussed at the talks on confidence-building measures and arms reduction.

The problem of Taiwan enabled Moscow to demonstrate a flexible and pragmatic approach. It was stated that relations with Taipei should develop on a nongovernment basis and should not cause "political damage" to relations with China. Moscow and Beijing also displayed a rational attitude toward foreign policy when they came up against differences in their approaches toward very important questions, for instance problems of human rights. The statement of positions here was made, as A. Kozyrev put it, "without excessive dramatization and confrontation."

In my view the latter is particularly important. Our relations have known many dramatic moments. It is a good thing that the sides have not begun yet again to "close up the past" in order to begin everything afresh. The choice was made in favor of combining new approaches with everything positive accumulated in the past. In brief, it is a good thing that the present beginning has become a continuation, a continuation of the good-neighborly and mutually advantageous relations between the two great countries.

Aven Cited on Chinese-Russian Trade Ties

PM1803125392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent Yuriy Savenkov report: "China and Russia Establish New Mechanism of Trade Relations"]

[Text] Beijing—Russia is the tenth CIS state to sign a trade and economic agreement with China. Kazakhstan was the first.

The agreement establishes the basic framework of cooperation, guarantees most-favored-nation status in trade, and eases customs regulations. The sides have agreed not to interfere, hinder, or, in any case, create more obstacles than for anyone else. That is how it should be between countries "on good terms with one another," P. Aven, chairman of the Russian Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, said. He is in Beijing to sign the agreement and tackle other unresolved problems in our relations with China.

A new trade mechanism is being established: It differs from the previous one, whereby the state made pledges which it was sometimes impossible to fulfill. Only a narrow list of goods will now be indicated in the protocol. Our side will supply machine-building products and integral equipment (mainly power engineering equipment for the heat and electric power plant being built with our assistance, and spare parts for aircraft). The Chinese will supply traditional consumer goods such as textiles and sewn goods. Food will mainly be supplied to Russia on the basis of direct ties. For example, contracts to supply corn, sugar, and canned meat were signed at the recent Harbin Trade Fair. Incidentally, although China has refused to buy a number of goods listed in the protocol, Chinese companies have bought them from us in substantial quantities on a barter basis; fertilizers, metal products, timber, and petroleum products.

There was erratic development in economic cooperation last year. This was due to the difficult economic situation in our country, the shortage of goods and hard currency in our organizations, and the reduction in state subsidies for foreign trade with the PRC. (Political measures have been employed in the past to maintain growth in trade turnover). Incidentally, according to previous indicative lists (payment in hard currency), we only honored 10 percent of our obligations, whereas the Chinese fulfilled virtually all their pledges. As a result, commodity turnover between the former Soviet Union and China fell last year in comparison with the record-breaking 1990. Despite this, the volume of decentralized trade (in other words border and regional trade) grew in both absolute and relative terms.

Russia and China will sign an agreement on avoiding double taxation and providing investment guarantees in the near future. We have also reached an agreement on paying off our clearing debt. We were supposed to have repayed commodity credit with raw materials, semimanufactures, and metals. However, it has proved very difficult to obtain these goods from our suppliers, so Russia is paying off the debt in hard currency.

I asked Petr Aven about the role China plays in Russia's foreign economic strategy. The chairman believes that we have traditionally counted on the United States, West Europe, and East Europe. The East European market has virtually collapsed as far as we are concerned, following attempts to switch to hard currency transactions. The West European market is out of our league at present. The level of competition and quality of goods are too high. Our aim is to gain a foothold in Asian and Latin American markets, and, to a lesser extent, African markets (purchasing power is low there). China is unique in this sense. The technological standard of its output corresponds to ours and often is simply similar—after all, it has taken a great deal from us. The closeness of our technological standards creates a real basis for cooperation. China's level of consumption and quality of output are also comparable to ours.

In the minister's view, we have been more geared to imports in the past. Now we must do our utmost to support exports. We are thinking of opening stores like "Elektronika" here. P. Aven believes that we can supply household appliances to China at lower prices than our competitors, but the problem is that there are strong protectionist barriers here. He is thinking of organizing an exhibition of our goods in the near future. There are plans for delegations of directors to visit China—mainly from defense enterprises starting to go over to civilian production.

Incidentally, the question of broadening supplies of military equipment was also discussed during the talks in Beijing. In P. Aven's view, military-technical cooperation—suspended in the sixties and resumed in the eighties—will undoubtedly continue. It is only possible on a commercial basis. "Weapons are also a commodity. A special commodity, but a commodity nevertheless. China is asking that we bring supplies under the terms of old protocols to their logical conclusion and is interested in new supplies," the chairman said.

I asked Aven to explain why our ties are developing so slowly—after all, they hardly correspond to the two states' potential. He considers this pace of development quite natural. Until now, enterprises have had no incentive to engage seriously in exports. For example, enterprises in developed civilian and defense sectors have lived fairly comfortably, drawing money from the budget. Why should they try to gain a foothold in the Chinese market? Now the situation has changed dramatically.

"At the Harbin Trade Fair I saw crowds of our newly fledged businessmen instinctively buying goods, often paying more than world prices. They did not go into the commercial center, where there were experienced personnel from the trade mission. Why not?"

"Businessmen have a traditional mistrust of authority," P. Aven believes. "The two have never been able to cooperate. A very great deal will have to be done for them to find a way of approaching one another."

Kozyrev's Envoys Leave for Baku, Yerevan

OW1803130692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1153 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama"; based on reports by diplomatic correspondent I. Porshnev and others; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] DP ["Diplomatic Panorama"] has learned that today envoys of Russia's foreign minister flew to Baku and Yerevan to hold talks with Armenian and Azeri leaders on a settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh. The group to conduct negotiations in Yerevan is led by Vladimir Zemsky, first deputy chief of the ministry's CIS countries department. It also includes Vladimir Arkhipov, senior adviser in the department on international humanitarian cooperation and human rights.

The group to conduct negotiations in Baku is led by Nikolay Kinayev, deputy chief of the South-West Asia department specializing on Afghanistan. Another member of the group is Vladimir Solovyov, a leading member of the ministry's department on security and cooperation in Europe.

According to a prominent member of Russia's foreign policy establishment interviewed by DP's correspondent, the Russian Foreign Minister's envoys will advance Russia's proposals on a settlement in Karabakh. The proposals were worked out by the intraministry group on Nagorno-Karabakh the envoys belong to. The work of the group led by V. Zemsky is monitored by Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister. The diplomat refrained from concretizing Russia's initiatives. "All will depend on the progress of talks in Baku and in Yerevan", he said. Whether the Russian envoys decide to visit the area of the conflict or not will also depend on this.

Russia is ready to continue its mediatory peacemaking mission designed to settle the conflict in Karabakh, the diplomat stressed. Moreover, Russia has nothing against the endeavours "to include the various international organizations in the search for a peaceful solution to this problem". The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh might be reviewed in detail at the CIS summit to be held in Kiev on Friday [20 March], said the Russian Foreign Ministry official.

Dubinin Named To Head Delegation to Ukraine

OW1903044292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs told "Interfax" that a decree issued by President Boris Yeltsin appointed the famous diplomat Yuriy Dubinin head of the Russian delegation in talks with Ukraine. The delegation will discuss political, economic and military problems in Russian-Ukrainian relations.

Experts feel that the dispute between Russia and Ukraine over the Black Sea Fleet has complicated relations between the two neighboring Slavic republics of the former USSR and threatened the existence of the CIS. Another blow to the CTS and Russian-Ukrainian relations was Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk's recent statement that Ukraine would stop the removal of tactical nuclear weapons.

The Russian President's decree was signed March 2, but not made public until March 18, prior to the meeting of leaders of Commonwealth States in Kiev March 20.

Special Ambassador Yuriy Dubinin, previously the Soviet ambassador to the US and France, considers himself a "hard-liner".

South Africa's Referendum Result Hailed

LD1903060292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1614 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 18 Mar (TASS)—The Russian Foreign Ministry today welcomed the results of the referendum in the Republic of South Africa, describing them as "a victory for common sense and political realism over the obsolete inhumane policy of apartheid." A statement by the Foreign Policy Department says that Russia will continue to do everything within its power to "assist the South African sides with the rapid achievement of lasting national concord and peace in conditions of equal rights and freedom."

Economics Minister in Italy To Discuss Credits

PM1703133192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Mikhail Ilinskiy: "Reorientation of Italian Credits to Russia's Food Needs"]

[Text] Rome—Russian Economics Minister A. Nechayev is in Rome. The purpose of his visit is to discuss the question of the credits Italy promised to give the former Soviet Union.

We want to accelerate the completion of the formalities associated with transferring the credits to Russia, the minister said at a press conference at the Russian Embassy. Italian credit amounts to 7.3 trillion lire. Furthermore, we are asking the Italian side to allocate $400 million, not in addition, though, but toward the credits for 1993-1994, and to use them for mainly the purchase of food and medicines. So it is a matter of reorientating credits. Food supplies for the Russian population are a political factor on which the future of the reforms in Russia largely depends.

Official on CIS Price-Fixing Policy

LD1803221592 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Ryabov]

[Text] Moscow, March 18 TASS—Businessmen should take part in the forthcoming talks on the coordination of price-fixing policy by the CIS member states together with top-ranking officials, Vladimir Zhenin, chairman of the subcommission for the budget, plans, taxes and prices of the Russian Parliament, told ITAR-TASS today.

According to Zhenin, the meeting of the CIS heads of government, held in Moscow on March 13, revealed the desire of some sovereign states to import from Russia the key types of raw materials, fuel and energy resources, materials and foodstuffs at unreasonably low prices. "As a result of this situation, leaders of a number of CIS member states may vote at the forthcoming talks for the prices which are suitable to them. This is why the presence at the negotiating table of the manufacturers and consumers of this or that product will make it possible to observe the balance of interests during the formation of partner relations," Zhenin pointed out.

He said that "sooner or later, CIS member states will pass over to world prices in account settling. It is certainly a long process, which will develop in several stages. One should realise, however, that this is inevitable."

U.S. Government Delegation Ends Siberian Tour

LD1803223392 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Fomin]

[Text] Chita, March 18 TASS—A group of U.S. government representatives ended their tour of Siberian cities on Wednesday [18 March]. Headed by John Zontak, the group visited Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Ulan-Ude and Chita.

"Siberia offers many attractions for foreign investors," Zontak told ITAR-TASS. "We recognise all around us that the situation here is complex, and not without its problems, but the only way out is to continue the process of reform and to realize democracy in all spheres of life."

During the trip the diplomats studied the socio-political and economic conditions in the region, and met with representatives of government and local businesses.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin, Parliament Meet on CIS, Military

LD1803153892 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Practically all groups in the Russian parliament supported on Wednesday [18 March] President Boris Yeltsin's statement that the preservation of the Commonwealth of Independent States is a question of crucial importance for Russia.

Everything which is of common interest for CIS members should be preserved, it is an issue of geopolitical and strategic priority for Russia, parliamentarians agreed at a meeting with the president.

The Russian president believes the meeting of CIS heads of state, scheduled for March 20 in Kiev, is well prepared, acting presidential spokesman Aleksey Novikov told reporters on Wednesday.

Military problems connected with the status of the general-purpose united Armed Forces of the Commonwealth, will comprise the bulk of items on the agenda of the meeting. They include: an agreement on relocation of nuclear charges, an agreement on withdrawing the Western and Northwestern Groups of troops, a decision on united command, a convention on non-use of force in relations between CIS members, and others. Besides, it is expected that observers corps and joint military units might be created to prevent conflicts between the former Soviet republics, Novikov said.

It is important to define the legal status of troops deployed in Transcaucasia. At present it is unclear who they are subordinated to and in which quality they are deployed there, the president was quoted as saying.

The participants in the meeting agreed no haste should be allowed in solving the military problems as the price of a mistake can be too high. They also stressed that loss of military hardware is inadmissible.

The president became acting Russian defence minister "temporarily, until the organisational and personnel structures of the military system are completely reorganised". The decree on the creation of the Defence Ministry is "undoubtedly an intermediate one", Novikov said, adding this is clear from the fact that the decree does not envisage the transfer of former Soviet troops, deployed in Russia, under the republican jurisdiction.

The parliamentarians and the president agreed that economic cooperation between the CIS members should be discussed in Kiev on the basis of equality without any exceptions, Novikov said.

Yeltsin did not agree with one of the parliamentarians who said the Republic of Tatarstan had de facto seceded from Russia. "It is important to act accurately, by phases and friendly", the president was quoted as saying.

Yeltsin agreed with the requests of most parliamentarians to address the nation on the problem of Tatarstan on the eve of the referendum there.

Yeltsin Dismisses Voronezh Oblast Leaders

LD1903052692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a report about a new Russian presidential decree. By decree of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the head and deputy head of the administration of Voronezh oblast, Viktor Kirillovich Kalashnikov and Aleksandr Matveyevich Moskvitin, have been released from their posts because of serious violations committed by the Voronezh Oblast administration in allocating cars intended for grain and agricultural produce suppliers and also for using their official position for personal use.

Khasbulatov on Pressure, Prices, Privilege

LD1703214692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1835 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chariman Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov by Eduard Sagalayev in Moscow on the "Live Dialogue" program—live]

[Text] [Sagalayev] Greetings. Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russan Federation, has come to the Ostankino studio. He intends to speak about topical matters and to answer some questions. We did not prepare an agenda for this meeting. A few hours ago in the news bulletin we gave out the telephone number, 217-71-60. You can call it now.

We asked viewers to submit their questions to Ruslan Imranovich. In this situation I want to act mainly as an intermediary between the television audience and the head of the Russian parliament.

One question—this is a question from me—is that the effect, the phenomenon if you like, of power in our society is extremely interesting to me, personally. I dream of the time when ordinary people and citizens will recall the existence of power extremely rarely, a time when they will be concerned with their normal human problems and will only think about parliament and the president on certain days of extraordinary political events, during congresses of people's deputies, etc. But now we live in a situation in which we are too dependent on one particular person or on a group of people. We live at a time when every day and every hour we recall and go over and over names everyone knows.

I want to ask you something, as a person whose family endured Stalinist repressions. Evidently this is a question which is also extremely important for you. What is power to you? Is it your aim in life or is it a way to achieve something, some other aim, or is it the way of life of a politician?

[Khasbulatov] No. You know, for me what you referred to as holding power can on no account be the purpose of life nor a way of life. Our historical destiny as deputies of the first Russian congress decreed that at the first stage we became partial holders of power. Then, a few months ago, after the tragic disintegration of the Soviet Union, we actually started to hold this power in some measure, I think. At any rate, the Russian parliament began to hold legislative power, of course. In this sense, I think our researchers, our observers and theoreticians, are not giving due attention to this circumstance—the fact that Russia's young democracy became the actual holder of real power on its territory only a few months ago. Given that I am the speaker of parliament, as the phrase goes, the head of parliament, what I have in mind is that we are the bearers of legislative power. The president is the head of executive power. There is also judicial power in this country, as you know. In general, it can be said that in this sense we have to a considerable extent come close to the institutions of real power and popular power, if I can put it like that, that exist in societies with a fairly stable and developed democracy, where these institutions were established during a logical and natural historical process of development.

You have raised the personal aspect. I can say once again that, naturally, I did not prepare to become a politician. Even less did I dream of becoming one. Even now I do not consider myself a professional politician who fears day and night that he might lose power. In that sense, to a considerable extent I think of my role as that of a person whose job is to extinguish social conflicts at the highest level of legislative authority and in some measure attempt to find a social alliance, a social accord, and in some measure, through legislative work, through concrete political work, find representatives of social forces, those fellow citizens of ours, who would like to bring peace and calm to the hearts of our people, and to find a legislative background which really does lead to a civic accord among our people.

[Sagalayev] Ruslan Imranovich, I am sympathetic with that sort of position and the way you see your role as that of someone who wants to fulfill a peace-making function. Looking at what is the main irritant in the public mind and in people's outlook today, we see several factors. Perhaps chief among them is the situation in society today. For example, my heart bleeds when I see a pensioner taking her belongings from her closet and going off to Detskiy Mir in the center of Moscow [venue for private street sales] to maintain herself, surrounded as she is by unimaginable prices, finding it very difficult to make ends meet from one pension payment to the next. In this sense, what is parliament doing to ensure the social protection of the population, particularly of the weak, the elderly, the children, and the invalids?

[Khasbulaotv] Perhaps that is the most difficult question because there are indeed many irritants, many reasons, many causes, for our society, for the public and for individuals, to be confused. Naturally, the level of such dissatisfaction among people is significantly increasing, literally every day, but still, the main factor in this kind of public dissatisfaction, you are quite right, is social disorganization, a deterioration of the material and economic conditions of our fellow citizens. I assure you that we in the Russian parliament are both suffering and worrying. Indeed, there are more and more of these cases, unfortunately. You see, in the Russian parliament we are asking these questions. We are strictly demanding that the government take specific measures to improve peoples' lot. At least, if not aimed at improvement, then at least at somehow suspending this process of the worsening of their material situation.

In this connection, I have been subject and am subject to quite harsh criticism, as the leader of a parliament, who did not let progressive people in the government realize economic measures.

[Sagalayev] Social protection presupposes...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Of course...

[Sagaleyev, interrupting] ..forming holes in the budget, from the government's point of view. This is apparently the basic noncoincidence.

[Khasbulatov] You see how it is. I will not start unilaterally subjecting our government figures to crushing criticism. Naturally, they are not striving to worsen the peoples' situation. Naturally, according to their understanding of the basic situation, they are trying to stabilize this state and to prevent peoples' deterioration. I think they have pure intentions. Indeed, they are doing a lot to somehow not permit this or that kind of deterioration.

But what are we doing in parliament? Let us say we have adopted a very good law on income indexation; that is, it was a question of when prices increase incomes should go up correspondingly. Unfortunately, such a chaotic explosion of prices has led to this law being practically undermined. It simply has not been put into practice. It has turned out that it has been somewhat cast aside. Of course, the parliament will take very serious measures in this respect. Of course, we are doing a lot along parliamentary lines. There are very many laws and much pension legislation and a special program to provide assistance to just those categories of people about whom you are speaking; that is, the least prosperous.

But funds are needed for this—very considerable funds. Personally, I do not agree with everything, both as an economist and as the leader of parliament. This is an excessively harsh approach by the government, this attempt to balance the budget at any cost. You see, as a professional economist I understand that it is impossible. Generally this path is not taken during crises and by other states and governments, etc. Therefore, we have to cut the budget deficit. That is one thing. But you know, to catastrophically cut expenditures on social programs or on investment in industry, investment in agriculture, is simply impossible.

This would cause a catastrophe. Reduce expenditures on agriculture? Is it possible to do this? After all, there is food shortage in the country. Such policies lead to a drop in the harvest and in livestock reproduction. What will there be to feed and cloth children and people? We should think about tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, not only about today, about IMF demands, etc.

In a word, the Russian parliament faces difficult tasks. I am trying, too, to somehow avoid confrontation between executive and legislative authorities and to find a golden mean to avert confrontation and, simultaneously, to help our people in these difficult conditions of reform.

[Sagalayev] Ruslan Imranovich, it appears you are seeking a compromise between the position of the government which is trying to cut the budget deficit at any cost and the need to ensure the population's social protection. As a version of such a compromise you have put forward the idea of appointing a prime minister.

[Khasbulatov] You know, this is a constitutional idea. The thing is that, unfortunately, the last congress' decision has proved unjustified, as brief experience has shown. After all, when government members have to go through the rigid sieve of discussion in parliament, the president, too, strives to invite people who enjoy prestige and respect, knowlegeable people because everywhere power is...[changes thought] You know, there is no ideal ruler. Some kinds of counterbalances and institutions curbing someone's will are always required. Therefore, I am a very staunch supporter of the idea that government members should certainly be appointed at the president's presentation. This is the president's right. But they should be approved by the Russian parliament. I think that this will only benefit our society, the people and the president. And another thing, when there is parliamentary approval, it means that this person will receive additional moral support.

[Sagalayev] There is a version that says that the idea to appoint a prime minister stems from the striving to curb President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's powers or, on the contrary, to make him inaccessible to criticism for the mistakes which the government unavoidably commits, or to force the current government to resign.

[Khasbulatov] This is idle speculation. Those who oppose it can make wild guesses and say what they like. But in fact the truth is this: You may recall Silayev's first government, I recall that Ivan Stepanovich Silayev had some very difficult moments. But, all the same, you must agree that, worthy ministers were openly appointed after broad discussion. Even in those very difficult conditions when the government did not have even a proportion, even a quarter, of the power which the government now has, it tried to do a lot. Indeed, it managed to do a lot for the good of our Russian citizens.

[Sagalayev] Ruslan Imranovich, do you have in mind a compromise figure?

[Khasbulatov] I do not. That is the right of the president. I am not speaking about any specific people. You must understand that as a representative or leader of the supreme legislative power, I am interested in the exact and undeviating observation of the law. The law says that it is necessary to act in a particular way. It seems to me that these are very rational laws. They must be observed. They must be observed by the chairman of the parliament, the president, the prime minister and by all of our citizens.

When the law is not observed you see what happens. Look at events in Tatarstan. In my view, they have disregarded the will of the Constitutional Court. Or, look at my Chechen homeland where the Dudayev regime does not display any adherence to the law at all, bringing hundreds of thousands of people who live in the republic to the verge of bankruptcy. There should be one law for all.

[Sagalayev] Ruslan Imranovich, they say history always repeats itself, the first time as a tragedy and the second time as a farce. I think that idea hardly applies to Russia, to our life in general, because in our country one tragedy is replaced by another; as a rule, by an even worse one.

[Khasbulatov] This is because in our country history does not repeat just twice but many more times.

[Sagalayev] Yes, many times and each time it, unfortunately, leads to harsh consequences. You used the words: the tragic disintegration of the Soviet Union. In general, that is my opinion, too. I do not agree with those who, in general, do not take this event very seriously, because we do not have just our passports announcing that we are citizens of the USSR. We also have our lives behind us. This cannot just be just disregarded.

[Khasbulatov] Absolutely.

[Sagalayev] But if we are to speak about the second factor which, alongside the social crisis alarms people, it is the fear that Russia might experience the same tragedy as the Soviet Union. Just now you began speaking about Tatarstan. In this connection I would like to ask you: How dangerous are the trends of a possible threat of the disintegration of Russia into a number of states, in connection with the referendum which is going to be held in Tatarstan? On the same theme, what about the federation treaty? Is it not analagous to the Union treaty on which the Soviet Union came to grief? Will Russia not come to grief on the federation treaty?

[Khasbulatov] Why should it come to grief when it has already practically been signed? It has already been initialed, thank goodness, by 18 autonomous administrative entities and republics.

[Sagalayev] Yes, but it mainly takes into account the interests of autonomous administrative entities, less so the interests of Russia's giant krays and oblasts.

[Khasbulatov] Nothing of the kind! You know, what you are saying does of course have relevance. Of course, there are such fears. I've always had them. The president has always had them. So have many of our fellow citizens. You must especially take into account the unquestionably tragic experience of the collapse of the Soviet Union. By the way, I believe that the endless and aimless discussion of the Union treaty was one of the main strategic reasons for the disintegration of the Soviet Union. So we were fully determined to complete the process of discussion and negotiation of the federation treaty. It can be said that together with the leaders of our Russian republics we somehow managed to find the golden mean that brought us to a common position. The treaty was initialed. It unquestionably takes into account the interests of the peoples of our republics. It also takes full account of the interests of the state, the federative state. The main thing is that it signifies the start, the very major start, as I see it, of the general civic peace that our country needs.

[Sagalayev] By and large, at any rate.

[Khasbulatov] That is one aspect. We will come back to that in a moment. Now, what do we intend to do next? We shall naturally sign a similar agreement with our oblasts and krays so there is no gap, no contradiction, between the republics, oblasts and krays. I hope the process will be completed as early as tomorrow, when we have a conference in Moscow with the chairmen of our kray and oblast soviets to discuss this. We have practically completed the very complicated negotiating process. I very much hope that tomorrow all of us will have the wisdom to reach an agreement, as we did with our republics. Then we would be able to put in place a very powerful stabilizing factor, even before the congress. You know that the Congress of People's Deputies opens on 6 April. The congress will be able to focus on two issues: the progress of economic reform and the adoption of the basic law, the constitution, the new draft constitution, in its first reading. We're apparently not quite ready to adopt the draft constitution in full. But it could be adopted in its first reading. This would be yet another very powerful stabilizing factor for our fatherland.

So, as far as Tatarstan is concerned, of course, quite frankly, I very much regret that it has so happened that our colleagues from Tatarstan did not listen to our advice and to our requests. It seems to me that they have not listened enough to our interests, to those of their own people and the interests of our state, our federative state, whose population has lived together for centuries, shoulder to shoulder. After all, it is difficult to say today that there is a ruling nation which has oppressed the rest. We have all been victims of our injustices to an equal extent and of this or that political regime and I think that we shouldn't look for enemies in each other, but set up conditions for the prosperity of everyone. The condition for my liberty is that the citizen living next to me is free. I cannot become free at the expense of the oppression of someone else, at the expense of the suppression of someone else. I cannot become a free citizen, person, and so forth. So, we all have to realize this. We have to stop these endless accusations against each other and see our brothers, our friends, our comrades, in each other, among representatives of different nations, and ensure the flourishing of our fatherland together.

[Sagalayev] Ruslan Imranovich, I think a referendum is unavoidable, to all appearances. If we talk about some kind of historical analogies again, far be it for me to compare, but still I recall the referendum in Lithuania and how this all ended. It ended with the old totalitarian authorities, so to speak, simply sending the tanks into Lithuania. I realize that we have a new democratic government. What will it, the new legislative authority, do if the referendum in Tatarstan...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] First, of course, there can be no question of tanks or of any kind of pressure through force, I think. This goes without saying. But I would put the question like this: Let us believe the leaders of Tatarstan. Recently the president, esteemed Shaymiyev, Mintimer Sharipovich, spoke here. Several times he swore that they have not made it their task to secede from the Russian Federation. So yesterday the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet met. Although to me the first point is quite vague, it is clearly said there that neither the leadership nor the Supreme Soviet sees its task as the review of borders, secession from the Russian Federation and so forth. Perhaps, we are sometimes excessively suspicious. Let us believe both the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet and their leaders, who swear to us that the people of Tatarstan do not set their sights on secession from the Russian Federation. Let us build our relations on trust, on support of each other. In this very difficult period we must trust each other more, I think.

[Sagalayev] Ruslan Imranovich, I am forced to return to what we began with because those notes which we have just brought concern material difficulties, pensions, and prices. What specifically can parliament guarantee in the sense of social protection and the prevention of a social explosion, or let us say, such things as starvation, etc.?

[Khasbulatov] Speaking openly before our fellow citizens, I am afraid that difficulties may make it impossible to implement our reforms. After all, why have I taken upon myself, bluntly speaking, the fairly ungrateful mission of a critical analysis of our government's policy? Because, being a convinced advocate of the need for the most profound economic and political transformations, I am very much afraid that such difficulties will set in that our people will not be able to bear because of their worsening economic situation. Naturally, major social cataclysms can ensue. This means backward movement. A backward movement means more suffering and, perhaps, a considerable stretch of time, at least, during which it will be impossible to return to these reforms. Therefore, it seems to me that we have to revise a lot now, to introduce corections to the pricing policy, to establish some upper limit on prices, to prevent an explosion of prices like the one that took place in January. People are afraid now that following an increase of prices for energy-carriers and fuel, an all-out price increase will start again. Parliament will take very serious measures.

We are now very intensely working on an entire bloc of laws which will make it impossible to further worsen the situation of people. For example, we adopted a Supreme Soviet decision by which we channel additional funds to agriculture to ensure a normal course of sowing. You know how important that is. We also made provisions in that decree for fuel. We ensured large investments for farmers, collective and state farms. Generally speaking, we are trying to change and the president shows understanding, too. Following the Russian parliament he said firmly that certain alterations should be introduced in our programs, including the privatization program , pricing program, and in our economic reforms in general. We find unity here.

[Sagalayev] That is, we can hope that things will not become worse. I understand that it is difficult to speak about an improvement in the near future...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Yes, it is difficult to say. I would not like to mislead our people.

[Sagalayev] But frankly speaking, it can hardly become any worse.

[Khasbulatov] We will try, we will do everything possible to prevent it getting worse. We will be putting things in order. Say, at the moment, you know, officers and warrant officers are in very hard conditions. At our initiative, the Supreme Soviet Presidium has now adopted a special decision to assist war veterans and officers and warrant officers who are currently being discharged as a result of reduction, to assist them in starting peasant businesses, farming, in giving them land, tractors, material support. We are developing housing construction. On the whole, we are doing a lot, quite a lot, frankly speaking. But, you see, not everything turns out the way we would like for the time being. But we all must be patient now. It is difficult for us, too.

[Sagalayev] Yes, you have put it very well, that we all must be patient. In connection with this, here are questions which are directly linked with this catastrophic process of impoverishment of enormous masses of people. Perhaps, at a different time I would not draw on this question but it seems to have a right to exist now.

This is a question about privileges. That is, when people feel such terrible pressure, they ask if the authorities also experience this pressure of economic reform, the market, price liberalization and so on. Do those in power have too many privileges? In my view this question has certain grounds, if only when I think about what has happened to certain structures which were earlier owned by the party-administrative apparatus, that is, buildings, garages, polyclinics. All those things which have been taken over by the new authorities. Do deputies or ministers feel the pressure which today...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Eduard Mikhaylovich, I understand you. About ministers, I cannot judge. As far as the deputies are concerned, I can say that we do not have privileges. We only have one privilege. I will tell you honestly that many deputies are dissatisfied because we have set them working conditions they simply did not imagine at the beginning. As far as privileges are concerned, we have the same canteens. You know yourself that the Supreme Soviet is not the most closed institution. Practically any citizen, I think, can get in there and can freely....

[Sagalayev, interrupting] But what kind of salary do the deputies of the Supreme Soviet have?

[Khasbulatov] The salary is small. Recently, in connection with the sharp increase in prices, we increased the salary by 90 percent. It is insignificant.

[Sagalayev] But still.

[Khasbulatov] The salary is 1,800 rubles.

[Sagalayev] Understood. This is after the increase?

[Khasbulatov] Yes. That is what the salary is. Enormous expenses. Many, after all, live,—in practice, we are given apartments —as you know, not all deputies are Muscovites,—we are given apartments which are official apartments. The furniture is standard issue. It is the most mediocre imaginable. They have to do their shopping in our shops. Often they live without their families. Lunches in our canteens cost 30-40 rubles.

[Sagalayev] Okay, I am placated.

[Khasbulatov] I assure you that the deputies do not have privileges. By the way, the hospitals which there used to be have disappeared. We have handed over a part as clinics, pediatric hospitals. A part we inherited, incidentally, from the Supreme Soviet, is being worked on by a commission at this very moment. The social commission is allocating these various holiday centers for the population.

[Sagalayev] Ruslan Imranovich, we have three minutes left. So, 35 minutes is little time for you and me, but perhaps it is a lot for our television viewers. Therefore, let us now get a small blitz session going, as it were: short question followed by short answer.

[Khasbulatov] Let us!

[Sagalayev] Measures to protect the interests of the Russian-speaking population of the independent states of the CIS, and a question affiliated to this, well, civilized relations with these states, and, in this light let us say the participation of Cossacks in the Dnestr conflict. Basically, in my view these questions are connected. The question of ethnic policy and relations, so to speak.

[Khasbulatov] Of course. I have to tell you openly that since we came to power both the president and the Supreme Soviet have been concerned about the situation of the Russian-speaking population, and those treaties—remember, we were criticized—with the Baltic, and treaties with other republics. One of the main points from the articles in these treaties was precisely about the protection of emigrants from our Russian territory—incidentally, with regard to the Dnestr region. Not long before I arrived in the studio I had a conversation with Boris Nikolayevich, our president, who told me that he had talked to Moldovan President Snegur. The latter had given a command to immediately stop these military actions, etc., so that there is no kind of bloodshed there. By the way, I want to talk about our standpoint with regard to the Cossacks. It was not the Russian authorities who sent them. These volunteers went there to defend their fellow citizens. Incidentally, tomorrow there will be an oblast soviet in Rostov, and we also intend requesting, morally requesting them, as it were, to recall them, etc. Basically, we are doing everything within our power to stop. In Karabakh you know our stands. What can one do? We are not in a position to cope with all the situations today. But I assure you that our [word indistinct] does indeed rest on a kind of humanistic approach, on justice, so that there is as little bloodshed as possible in different regions of the former USSR and our territory.

[Sagalayev] Our time has run out. A last question, or a penultimate one. Are you a believer or an atheist? This is the penultimate question.

[Khasbulatov] I am a fatalist.

[Sagalayev] A fatalist.

[Khasbulatov] Yes.

[Sagalayev] Good, but ...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] I believe in the predetermination of my destiny.

[Sagalayev] Yes, if you were a believer, what would you pray for?

[Khasbulatov] I would pray, and will pray, and will ask all our fellow citizens to help us, so that peace and order really does reign in our country, so that we relate to one another with respect, so that we do not lose our belief in each other, do not lose our belief in our authorities, in these times, which really are very difficult. I want to say that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the president, works a great deal; he worries a lot. I assure you that I worry no less. Our Supreme Soviet is very concerned by this situation, and we all ask our fellow citizens to support both us and themselves in these difficult days for our fatherland. The main thing is calm, hope, that nonetheless to banish from our hearts some kind of desperation, maybe some kind of anger. Anyway, we need a kind of human approach.

[Sagalayev] Ruslan Imranovich, I completely subscribe to this and I would hope, perhaps the main hope, that both the president and the parliament and the government do not let us down but justify the faith of our voters, the faith of those who are now watching us, if anyone is watching us. Thank you. All the best.

[Khasbulatov] Of course. Thank you. Goodbye.

Shakhray Views Tatarstan's 'Attempted Coup'

PM1803143392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Sergey Chugayev report under the "Events and Commentaries" rubric: "Referendum in Tatarstan: Attempted Coup d'Etat on Pan-Russian Federation Scale, Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray Believes"]

[Text] Without doubt, the high point at the news conference given by Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray in parliament 16 March was the announcement that President Boris Yeltsin had signed a Decree on the Formation of the Russian Defense Ministry.

A Military Department Without the Military

This document seeks to eliminate the situation prevailing today whereby the army exists de facto outside of the state and hence the danger of its turning into an autonomous political force is very real. At the same time, S. Shakhray drew attention to the fact that the decree's appearance is nothing but the president's precise execution of the instructions given by parliament when the Russian Law on Security was adopted. So there is no point in seeking any concealed objectives which the formation of the Russian military department allegedly pursues. For example, there is no need to link the decree's promulgation with Ukraine's decision to suspend the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons. In the vice premier's opinion, the formation of the Russian Defense Ministry will not become a catalyst for the process of hastily setting up military departments and armed forces in CIS member republics, since it does not pose any threat against anyone. Armed forces located on Russian territory will be operationally subordinate to the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command. The new defense department will be strictly civilian, responsible for questions of military building, finance, personnel, and several other similar problems.

Government Advocates Halting Russia's Disintegration

Commenting on the results of the initialing of the draft federation treaty by most of the Russian Federation republics, the vice premier actually admitted that a political compromise has been reached and that it is impossible to move any further. Beyond lies the Federation's disintegration. Autonomous entities are granted maximum rights and freedoms, except for the right to secede. As for Russian krays and oblasts, expressing the government's and obviously the president's view, S. Shakhray also spoke in favor of granting them maximum economic freedom but against any kind of attributes of statehood.

In S. Shakhray's opinion, separatist moods derive mainly from local leaders' desire to protect themselves from political changes and economic reforms. Taking advantage of the most topical of example of Tatarstan, S. Shakhray reminded his audience that, right back at the beginning of the Novo-Ogarevo process, autonomous entities were being exploited in the struggle against the Russian parliament in order to destroy Russia from within. Holding the referendum, the vice premier believes, benefits conservative political forces. The start of Russia's disintegration, as the most probable consequence of the referendum, gives these forces a chance to seize power beneath the banner of saving the fatherland. This is why S. Shakhray described the Tatarstan authorities' intention to hold the referendum despite the Russian Constitutional Court's decision as an attempted coup d'etat on a pan-Russian Federation scale. The fact that the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet Presidium has amended the wording of the referendum does not change the essence of the matter.

The political logic of the development of events in the CIS is such that as soon as the leadership of any republic makes concessions to nationalist forces, it inevitably and rapidly loses power. Events in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Checheniya prove this. However, Tatarstan's case is special. If, as S. Shakhray believes, the republic's secession from the Federation constitutes a step toward a right wing coup in Russia, then it is no longer just a matter of some republic leader's losing power, but of the fact that the right wing, on coming to power, will first and foremost deprive autonomous entities of all the rights and freedoms they enjoy today.

S. Shakhray spoke against the use of force to prevent the anti-constitutional action in Tatarstan. Every state and juridical measure should be taken, including a prosecutor's warning to officials of district electoral commissions on their responsibility for unconstitutional actions. And, of course, the nonrecognition of the referendum results. Along with this, the vice premier referred skeptically to the idea of using as a response to the referendum the suggestion made the previous evening by the vice president—to introduce an economic state of emergency in Russia. In S. Shakhray's opinion, this measure can only freeze, rather than resolve the problem. At the same time, economic reform will also be frozen. Meanwhile, the vice premier is convinced that only the success of reforms will lead to the genuine consolidation of the Federation.

Society today is prepared to support the political leader who advocates an end to the state's disintegration, S. Shakhray declared. If the Russian president and the Russian parliament fail to act as such leaders, then other forces could exploit the situation. So, the only chance of achieving national accord in Russia is by adopting the new constitution.

At the same time, S. Shakhray confirmed the well known forecast that the main struggle to unfold at the congress will be over the redistribution of powers between the government and parliament. The demand for the president to relinquish the post of head of government means a demand for the cabinet to resign. This will have the most lamentable consequences.

Parliament Is Fed Up with Pressmen

The news conference was memorable because it proved very difficult to attend. The majority of journalists could enter the hall only after long negotiations with White House security and the press service. For inexplicable reasons, the militiamen standing at the entrance since early morning were refusing to let accredited correspondents enter the parliament building. Later, press service spokesmen explained that this was because a new security chief had been appointed in the White House and he did not quite understand his duties. According to other information, the security chief was meticulously obeying the parliament leadership's wish to restrict journalists' entry into the White House, as they prevent deputies from working fruitfully. It is difficult to imagine that someone incapable of carrying out his duties professionally would be appointed to the responsible post of guaranteeing security for the supreme organ of power. So most of my colleagues perceive these acts by the security guards as a sign of a more hard-line attitude by the parliament leadership toward media representatives.

A sufficiently graphic confirmation of this is provided by the decision to ban newspaper correspondents from attending Supreme Soviet Presidium sessions. Henceforth only news agency correspondents will enjoy this right. Press service spokesmen explain this decision by saying that there is no room in the hall for pressmen. According to reports from unofficial sources, the real reason for restricting journalists' access is that some newspaper articles evaluating Presidium sessions have irritated the parliamentary leadership. It has been decided to remove the source of irritation by using simple and well tried means. At the expense of limiting the information available to society about the activities of the organs of power it has elected.

Volkogonov Urges Collective Security Accord

LD1803121792 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Excerpts from recorded interview with presidential defense advisor Dmitriy Volkogonov by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—Volkogonov speaks in Russian fading into English translation]

[Text] [Correspondent] After returning to Moscow from a brief vacation, President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on the formation of the Russian Defense Ministry. This was disclosed at a news conference by the presidential legal advisor Sergey Shakray. He added that temporarily the president himself will perform the duties of defense minister.

The Ministry was set up in line with the recently passed law on security. In an interview for Radio Moscow, the presidential defense advisor Dmitriy Volkogonov said that he hoped the new ministry would soon be instructed to form the Russia armed forces:

[Volkogonov] Russia demonstrated restraint and for a long time refrained from forming its own armed forces, Dmitriy Volkogonov said. But as several Commonwealth countries already have their own armed forces, or declared intentions to form them, we could not remain idle. Russia is spreading its jurisdiction over all troops, military educational institutions, test grounds, and facilities on its own territory as well as in Germany, Poland, the Baltic States, and Mongolia, and under understandings with appropriate governments, troops in Transcaucasia, and Central Asia. Under an earlier agreement, local armed forces will coexist with the joint armed forces of the Commonwealth.

It is not clear whether all Commonwealth countries will wish to have their own armies and on what principles. Therefore, the main task now is to clearly define the status of the armed forces outside the Russian Federation.

[Correspondent] And what step would follow the placing of troops under Russian jurisdiction?

[Volkogonov] The formation of the Russian army and Russian navy will be declared. Simultaneously, the president and parliament are to take necessary steps to conclude a treaty on collective security with the other countries of the Commonwealth. This treaty would secure all Commonwealth countries from wars and armed conflicts and promote the security of each member. We hope that the majority of Commonwealth countries would be able to sign the treaty. We also believe that there should be a permanent committee of the Commonwealth that would be in charge of all aspects of the division of the armed forces, their property, as well as the location of troops.

[Correspondent] And what will be the essence of the Russian military doctrine?

[Volkogonov] To prevent global and local armed conflicts and to defend sovereignty. We also believe that Russia will take certain steps to join the European security system. If a global world system of security is formed, Russia will try to join it too.

Relations With Commonwealth Forces Analyzed

LD1803155192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Commentary by station analyst Vadim Solovyev; Solovyev speaks in Russian fading into English translation]

[Text] The Russian Federation has started creating a national Defense Ministry. The reasons are analyzed by our military observer Vadim Solovyev.

[Solovyev] Before leaving Moscow for Sochi for two week holidays at this Black Sea resort, the Russian President Boris Yeltsin said that Russia would be the last out of the 11 Commonwealth states to form its own army, only if it was forced to do so. But upon his arrival in Moscow, the first thing he did was to sign a decree in creating a Russian Defense Ministry, and appoint himself as the acting Defense Minister to add to his other numerous posts.

It seems there are quite a few serious reasons behind the President's decision to speed up the creation of the Russian military department. They aggravated even more during the preparations for a summit meeting which is scheduled for the 20th in Kiev. Some issues are not yet solved and a compromise is unlikely to be found by the 20th.

The first stumbling block is the financing of the Commonwealth Armed Forces: Russia pays for their presence not only beyond the borders of the former Soviet Union, but also for their deployment in the republics of the former Soviet Union. The republics explain their refusal to finance the army by their economic difficulties, but Russia also faces the same problems. The republics have also refused to pay their share in many respects.

All the young men, excluding from Russia, undergo military service on the territories of their republics and this contingent is insufficient. Everywhere there are interruptions with the material and technical supplies and the troops deployed in the republics eat up even the untouchable reserve kept for war times.

The Commonwealth command, or virtually Russia alone, has to replenish the food, fuel and many other things. Under these conditions President Yeltsin has issued his decree on the defense ministry which involves only general purpose troops within the framework of the unified Armed Forces. This step will undoubtedly force other Commonwealth members to (?determine) their share in the joint defense programs.

Russia claims the role of a coordinator in military questions. In future it seems Russia will use diplomatic and economic levers and decide with every Commonwealth state whether troops will be deployed on its territory. If so the parties concerned are to decide the troops' number, tasks, and their legal status. Everything will depend on the result of the discussion on a package of Commonwealth military problems to be submitted for the next Commonwealth summit in Kiev.

'Struggle' for Military Post 'Lies Ahead'

PM1803143192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 1

[Report by Captain Second Rank O. Odnokolenko: "Russian Armed Forces Not Yet Formed, But Own Defense Ministry Already In Being"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium was geared up to examine the military question on the morning of 16 March. However, Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov unexpectedly and without any obvious reason proposed that the discussion of military problems be switched to the afternoon. The reason became clear later, when it was learned that during the interval Russian President Boris Yeltsin, returned from a short vacation, had signed the Decree on Creating the National Defense Ministry. The president himself assumed the functions of defense minister.

As Vitaliy Kovalevskiy, chief of department in the Russian Federation State Committee for Defense Questions, explained, "this judgment of Solomon" will make it possible to remove the unnecessary pressure built up during the struggle among various political and Army groupings for the ministerial post.

As far as is known, the state committee nominated Andrey Kokoshin for the post. The nominations of Galina Starovoytova, Pavel Grachev, Konstantin Kobets, and others were examined. And since the Russian president has assumed the duties of defense minister temporarily, it may be supposed that the main struggle for the "military post" in the government lies ahead. At least, according to Vitaliy Kovalevskiy, the outcome of that struggle will determine not just the "character of the Russian military department," but the content of Russian military policy.

For the time being, however, Russia has no military property as such apart from the text of the decree (other CIS states have made greater progess along this route). Incidentally, by the same decree the Russian armed forces—which formally do not exist—are transferred to the operational command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command [Glavkomat]. And this shows that Russia has nevertheless determined its contribution to the CIS Armed Forces. At least it is considered in the Russian State Committee for Defense Questions that the next step will be to take under Russian jurisdiction all the troops of the former Soviet Union, except for those stationed on Ukrainian territory, as Ukraine has already decided on its own army. But this does not mean that the other sovereign states are automatically deprived of such a right. Vitaliy Kovalevskiy explained that each state will have as many troops as it can maintain. For the time being, however, 60 percent of all military expenditure is shouldered by Russia.

One more factor of fundamental importance: The Russian Defense Ministry, as Colonel General Dmitriy Volkonogov stated, will be a civilian department. This, it is generally thought, will enable Russia to integrate itself more quickly into the European security system.

Supreme Soviet's Role in Military Policy Eyed

PM1303113092 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Mar 92 p 1

[Interview with People's Deputy Colonel A. Tsarev by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Captain 2d Rank V. Urban; place and date not given: "Will Parliament Influence Military Policy?"—first two paragraphs are "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA dossier" biography of Colonel Tsarev]

[Text] A.Yu. Tsarev was born in 1953. Deputy for Tselinnyy Territorial District No. 555 (Orenburg Oblast). Was deputy commander of strategic missile forces regiment in charge of political matters. Completed studies at military political academy.

Member of the Constitutional Commission. Works on permanent basis in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and Security Questions.

[Urban] It is considered that the Russian parliament has to all intents and purposes been excluded (or has distanced itself) from making military policy. As confirmation of this the following arguments can in particular be adduced. There is a Russian Federation state counselor for defense who is actively involved in these problems. The recently created Main Legal Administration is also striving to gain a foothold here.

[Tsarev] Yes, such an opinion does exist.

[Urban] In that case, Aleksey Yuryevich, I would like to know your committee's reaction to all this.

[Tsarev] In spite of the criticism leveled against them, the deputies possess one very valuable quality. Unlike the structures of executive power, the body of deputies is less subject to a corporative spirit.

The CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command, in preparing the draft decisions for the meetings of Commonwealth heads of state, tries to bypass the Russian Supreme Soviet in order to avoid criticism of these documents. And what is our committee's reaction? We react with understanding to the High Command's tactics. But we also understand that the republic's highest legislative organs of power still have the last word. The signing of international agreements (of the kind which were adopted in Minsk 14 February), without the corresponding ratification or further work on them in the parliaments, does not have legal force.

[Urban] But it is known that on the eve of the last Minsk meeting of the CIS heads of state, your committee inquired about draft documents which the High Command [Glavkomat] had prepared, and even scrutinized them. True, it did not make any decision. What can explain this?

[Tsarev] It is difficult to given an unequivocal reply. It seems that everyone supports the idea of creating Russian Armed Forces, but when it comes to adopting specific decisions, things do not go so smoothly. As for the committee's decision or point of view prior to the Minsk meeting which you mentioned, our committee purely and simply could not make up its mind to submit any decision.

[Urban] I personally know your views. But the next question, Aleksey Yuryevich, will nevertheless be about them. At a session of the committee on 3 February, you proposed to prepare a draft statement of the Russian parliament, addressed to highest legislative organs of power of the CIS countries and Georgia, in connection with the fact that no unified approaches have yet been worked out for reorganizing the former Union's Armed Forces, and that there is no legal basis for their activities.

[Tsarev] Yes, this did take place.

[Urban] There are in my opinion several points of principle in your proposals. You consider that parliament should adopt this statement, as the army cannot exist without belonging to some state. But still nothing has been resolved

[Tsarev] Today these proposals have lost their relevance to the present. But the new drafts which our committee is preparing together with the Russian Federation State Committee on Defense Questions will be more radical and possibly also more painful.

[Urban] What do you mean by "more radical?"

[Tsarev] Whereas earlier, that is prior to the Minsk meeting of 14 February, we said roughly the following: Let the parliaments of the CIS countries state their position so that everything can be coordinated, now a unilateral act by Russia on creating its own armed forces is a possibility. This will of course be more painful. But what can you do.

[Urban] Will Russian President B. Yeltsin support this?

[Tsarev] We will see there....

[Urban] In that case I am interested in your view on the following problem. At the Minsk meeting, Armenian President L. Ter-Petrosyan said that the republics should not for the moment create their own armies for two to three years. But then with the escalation of the conflict in Karabakh Armenia itself raised this question. But now the presidents and parliaments of certain CIS states are already (again in connection with the war in Karabakh) warning their partners against the consequences of hasty decisions on military matters. What should Russia do here?

[Tsarev] Our committee is to get down to resolving pressing military questions concerning Russia at its session on Tuesday. It will now hardly be able to avoid coming to a concrete decision: Will or will there not be Russian armed forces...

[Urban] I do not know how the debate on Tuesday will end, but in my view it is necessary to raise in the first place the question of servicemen's legal position. Here you cannot help but bring up the example of the not unknown 366th motorized infantry regiment which was in Stepanakert (Khankendy). The regiment basically comprises Russian citizens, and came under fire from Azerbaijani armed formations. But Russia, as far as I know, did not react to this in any way. Do you agree that such things cannot be ignored?

[Tsarev] For the moment servicemen do not belong to the army of any particular state, their status has not been defined... All this may result in tragedy for servicemen and members of their families.

[Urban] You are a member of the Constitutional Commission. I think that the new Russian Federation Constitution and its clauses on defense will give new impetus to this work. So what does the draft Constitution say?

[Tsarev] I can simply read it out to you...It says there that the Russian armed forces may be created to defend Russia's state sovereignty and territorial integrity. Federal law determines military doctrine, the armed forces' structure and organization, and other constituents of defense policy. It goes on: The Russian Federation may conclude defensive alliances with other states and create joint armed forces with them on a treaty basis, including strategic forces and a joint command. [Tsarev ends]

Necessary Postscript

An unexpected continuation of this conversation took place last Thursday at a joint session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chambers.

In the resolution which was adopted on bringing into force the Law on Security the Supreme Soviet recommended to the Russian president that he examine the question of forming a Ministry of Defense and a State Committee for Protection of the Border and the Economic Zone. Moreover, the parliamentary committees and commissions together with the government have been instructed to prepare within three months, in conjunction with the government, draft laws on defense, social protection for servicemen, the foreign intelligence service, and the Russian Federation's state border.

Fears Analyzed Following 17 Mar Incidents

PM1803170992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Otto Latsis: "Why We Were Afraid of Shadows"]

[Text] Now that 17 March has passed and nothing has happened, we are slightly amused and slightly ashamed. We want to understand why they tried to frighten us, what they tried to frighten us with, and why we were in fact a little bit frightened although there was nothing to be frightened of. We admit that we, the mass media, were also frightened and that we frightened our readers.

The main reason is obvious: Once bitten, twice shy. The events of 23 February could not fail to cause revulsion and alarm in any normal person. The demonstrators' intolerable aggressiveness and the authorities' foolish ban brought us dangerously close to the boundary we would very much like not to cross. Russia, worried by the unabating conflagrations near its own southern borders and tired out by all kinds of extremism—from the State Committee for the State of Emergency to simple states of emergency—hopes most of all to overcome the hard times with patience and work, but not with blood. That is why society cautiously watched to see whether the political tension would decline or increase after 23 February.

Why were we frightened of the upsurge of extremism? Surely not because of the appeals of those who organized and supported the congress of USSR people's deputies? But their tragicomic efforts were hopelessly incommensurate with their set aim of reviving the empire. They tried to frighten us, but we were not terrified; we were sorry for them. It became a little terrifying when the mayor of Moscow demanded special powers from the Russian Supreme Soviet itself. When a serious politician sounded the alarm, you could not help feeling doubt: Were we suddenly failing to understand something? Was something terrible really threatening us from the opposition? And he sowed the seed of another cause for alarm: Would he really suddenly be given special powers? If someone believes that it is only the partycrats' states of emergency that we do not want and that we dream of the democrats' states of emergency, then they are wrong. As a voter I state categorically that I do not want any emergency situation.

Fortunately, on 17 March the authorities, including the militia, and the meeting participants both rose to the occasion. That applies to the meeting on Manezh Square and to the gathering on the "Voronovo" state farm. Each received what he wanted without impeding the others, as is customary in respectable society. Is the danger over? Yes, but only if the Russian prosecutor no longer demands punishment for the participants in the "Voronovo" congress under the deterrent articles of the Criminal Code. Fear in the face of danger is in itself a serious danger. Life is now very nervy and if we are continuously intimidated, at some time the danger will not pass, at some time we will lash out at each other out of fear.

'United Opposition' Declares Principles

PM1303120992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Mar 92 p 1

["Declaration on the Formation of a United Opposition" adopted by political parties and public bodies at 1

March Moscow conference and now "open for signing by all parties, movements, and public organizations which share its principles"; first two paragraphs are unattributed introduction; published under headline: "Justice. Popular Values (Narodnost). Statehood. Patriotism"]

[Text] A conference involving leaders of movements and parties, deputies of soviets at various levels, and editors of the patriotic press was held 1 March 1992. The meeting resolved to form a united opposition on the principles expounded in the Declaration published below. Work has begun on the formation of a Council of Opposition Movements and its working organs.

On 11 March 1992 at 1500 hours movement leaders who signed the Declaration are to hold a news conference at 13, Komsomolskiy Proyezd. Soviet and foreign journalists are invited.

[Text of Declaration] The crisis now being artificially deepened has brought the country to the brink of a catastrophe comparable with defeat in a large-scale war. Our historical homeland, Russia—the Soviet Union—is being destroyed. Economic, cultural, and interethnic ties that were formed over centuries have been shattered. The economy has been thrust a long way back. State reserves have been squandered. Complete chaos reigns in finances. Even internationally renowned centers of science and culture have been left without means of existence. Single-minded destruction of the country's army and defense complex is being carried out.

All the social achievements of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution have already in effect been destroyed. Reforms amounting to robbery have plunged 130 million Russians below the poverty line overnight. All over Russia the physical extinction of the population has begun. For the first time in the postwar period the country stands on the brink of a great famine. It is being shaken by interethnic feuds and an upsurge in crime and banditry. Incidents of violence and terror against patriots multiply with every passing day.

Responsibility for what is happening lies first and foremost with the ruling circles of the Russian Federation, which once again are carrying out dubious experiments on the people. An antipopular government has entirely subordinated Russia's national interests to world reaction—the chief architect of the USSR's collapse. It does not even stop at the possibility of part of the country's territory being wrenched away.

In these conditions confidence in the authorities is declining rapidly. The polarization of society is proceeding apace. On one side are virtually all strata of the people, on the other a narrow group of smooth operators and political charlatans deriving criminal income from chaos, corruption, and the manipulation of public opinion. Mass protest demonstrations held in many cities across the country have shown that the people's patience is running out. They intend to stop the genocide and do not want renewed fratricidal slaughter.

After discussing the situation in the country, we representatives of the left- and right-wing opposition have come to the conclusion that the Fatherland can only be saved through joint actions on the basis of civil peace and national confidence. On this basis we have made the decision to set up a united opposition on the following principles:

1. The unity and integrity of the Fatherland, and readiness to enter into full state union with all the peoples and countries that gravitate [tyagoteyushchiy] toward Russia.

2. The unification of all spiritual and cultural traditions formed at all stages of our history. Mutual tolerance, and the rejection of confrontation between "Whites" and "Reds" and of a renewed split in the country, this time on national lines.

3. The creation of a civil society of social justice guaranteeing everyone prosperity on the basis of his labor, reliable security, and state protection for all those who need it.

4. The development of peaceful, good-neighborly relations with foreign countries. The repeal of intergovernmental agreements which contradict Russia's national state interests and encroach on the dignity, rights, and freedom of its sons and daughters, wherever they live.

5. Strict adherence to constitutional methods of solving political problems. The restoration and defense of democracy as the genuine form of people's power. Opposition to all attempts to revive dictatorship in the country, whatever good intentions may lie behind them.

To all citizens of Russia we propose constructive cooperation and collaboration. Our slogans are close and accessible to all. **Justice. Popular values. Statehood. Patriotism.**

[Signed] The Russian [Rossiyskiy] All-People's Union, the Russian [Rossiyskoye] People's Assembly, the Russian [Rossiyskiy] People's Council, the Fund for the Restoration of the Church of Christ the Savior, the Russian Communist Workers' Party, the Coordinating Council of the Russian People's Patriotic Forces, the Russian [Russkaya] Party of National Revival, the Commission for Investigating the Activity of M.S. Gorbachev, the Organizational Committee for Preparing the Sixth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the Russian [Rossiyskaya] Party of Communists, the "Otechestvo" Society of Russian Culture, the Union of Cossacks, the "Otchizna" Movement, the Public Association for the Defense of Communists' Rights, the "Christian Revival" Society, the Organizational Committee of the Union of Communists, the Socialist Party of the Working People, the "Russian [Russkaya] Idea" Association, the "Russian [Russkiy] National Rally [sobor]", the Officers for the Revival of Russia Movement, the Officers' Union, the United Front of the Russian Working People, the Panslavic Rally, the All-Russian "Yedineniye" Association, the Moscow State University

Coordinating Council of the Association of Left-Wing Patriotic Forces, the Coordinating Council of the Independent Civil Movement for the Support of Enterprise.

This Declaration is open to be signed by all parties, movements and public organizations which share its principles.

'Citizens of Russia' Forum Supports Unity

LD1803213592 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Political forces supporting the unity of Russia will hold a meeting in Moscow in the end of April - beginning of May organized by the "Citizens of Russia" forum, organisers told reporters on Wednesday [18 March]. The forum unites two major political parties of Russia—the Democratic Party and the People's Party of "Free Russia".

Political forces which "are determined to preserve the unity of Russia" were also invited. However, those who stand for creating an ethnic Russian state will be banned from the meeting.

This will be the second joint forum of democrats, supporting Russian statehood as a supraethnical federative state and a cultural and national autonomy. It appeared in Moscow on March 15 at a conference of public forces.

Leaders of the Democratic Party believe the forum is a natural continuation of the conference which "marked the beginning of unification of democrats supporting Russian statehood as a single entity, but fully renouncing such methods of preserving unity as national-patriotism, chauvinism and revival of socialist totalitarianism."

The conference, in which Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar participated, "showed that a constructive dialogue between the government and political parties is possible and the parties should not move into opposition as reforms are to be implemented," the leaders of the Democratic Party believe.

They denounced the "meeting of the citizens of the Russian Federation", scheduled by the Republican Party for April 5, which is planned to consolidate forces supporting Russian people's deputies. The rating of Yeltsin is high enough and no meeting can influence the deputies, Ilya Reutman, deputy chairman of the Democratic Party said.

The leaders of the party believe that although most people in Tatarstan will answer in the affirmative to the question of the referendum, scheduled for March 21, it will not mean an immediate Tatar secession from Russia. The Tatar leaders want to "privatise a piece of the state and become oil sheikhs", but "they understand the language of political pressure", Yevgeniy Malkin, a leader of the Democratic Party, maintains. Therefore, feeling pressure from Russian authorities and public, they made "a step backwards" and announced that no secession is planned. However, a suitable moment for secession may appear during the second stage of economic reforms when prices on oil will be released from state control, Malkin said. Much in this respect will depend on the stance of the Russian public and the democrats who support Russian statehood, he added.

Federation, Unity 'Can Be Preserved'

PM1803162192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Commentary by Leonid Radzikhovskiy: "One Russia"]

[Text] We are all aware of the gloomy forecasts: Russia is going to go the same way as the Soviet Union. These predictions are sometimes accompanied by a gloating smile: Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones! Russia "brought down the Union," and now the conflagration has reached its own walls.

However, it is wrong to expect the processes that occurred in the former USSR to be mechanically transferred to Russia itself. However conditional the Russian Federation's borders may be, we are talking about a finite formation nevertheless. Unlike the former USSR, there are no regions of Russian territory that were once independent states subsequently annexed—voluntarily or forcibly—to Russia (naturally, we are not talking about events in the 18th century or earlier, which saw the subjugation of Siberia and so on). Russia is still a country where one nationality is clearly in the majority, in other words more than 80 percent of the population is Russian. (For the sake of comparison, approximately 75 percent of Ukraine's population is Ukrainian; approximately 70 percent of Uzbekistan's population is Uzbek; and less than 60 percent of Latvia's population is Latvian).

It is true that there are national republics striving for independence within Russia. It is also true that there were dozens of short-lived states in the Russian Federation's present territory in the period 1918-1921 and that they have not been forgotten. It is well known, for example, that the Far East is constantly talking of a separate Far Eastern republic.

Generally speaking, the map of Russia in 1918-1920 bore a very strong resemblance to the map of medieval Rus with its central Moscow principality. It could be said that, weakened during the Civil War years, Russia fell into a state of feudal fragmentation. At that time, however, the history of the Civil War was presented somewhat differently: Apparently, it was objectively the history of the "second coming together" of the Russian state, while Lenin and Trotskiy, now cursed as enemies of Russia, were apparently playing the role of a latter-day Ivan Kalita. But there is no point going into historical parallels, which are always inaccurate and one-sided anyway. We are concerned with a different question: Is the Russian organism going to disintegrate into principalities again, and are we going to see medieval fragmentation for the second time this century?

We should immediately point out that we would have to have the Middle Ages back in full, in other words complete with internecine strife and the total collapse of any economy. In today's conditions, when even the simplest, most self-sufficient of lifestyles is really impossible, physically impossible, without an extensive infrastructure (energy, transport, information, and so on), any "return" to the Middle Ages is simply unrealistic. Dying in a polluted, ravaged land would be the only real prospect. Consequently, the question of Russia's state integrity is not a question of principles, prestige, patriotism, and so on. It is simply a question of the survival of everyone living on Russian soil.

However, it would be too naive to assume that these arguments—so blindingly obvious!—will stop the separatists. Their logic is simple: They may die and they may not, but power is there to be seized! Everyone has to die sometime, but power is there for the taking now! Hunger for power is an indomitable feeling and cannot be stopped by rational argument.

By what methods can the Russian leadership fight separatism?

Take the situation in Checheniya, for example. Imagine if martial law had indeed been imposed last fall, as Rutskoy demanded, when General Dudayev carried out his "coup." It is extremely likely that there would not have been any reconciliation and that Russia would have had its own Karabakh—a permanently festering wound which, if opened only once, would take 200 years to heal. But another path was chosen—the only one possible, in my opinion. Yes, the situation in Checheniya is on the brink of explosion. But we have managed to avoid an explosion for six months now. Apart from that, Dudayev himself is in a difficult position. If there were a war, he would be a national hero and "war would wipe the slate clean." But, as things stand, there is no one to blame for the problems with the water supply, food supplies, and criminal gangs. The local authorities themselves are to blame.

Hence the first, obvious conclusion. A politician's strength does not lie in his ability to slap the glass on his Moscow office desk with his fist and shout: "Never!" His strength lies in patience. He must not give the population of a region the impression that he is "pulling them and will not let go" or add fuel to the fire where separatists are cooking their meal.

Russia's regions must have the same measure of freedom as national republics. "Regional economic accountability" is obvious communist claptrap, based on the premise that a "region," in other words the local bureaucracy, is the owner. Private ownership does away with this. But our regions must have maximum freedom in legislation (including tax laws and criminal legislation), perhaps along the lines of the U.S. states. The following are common to all Russia: the ruble, the Army, foreign policy, the principles of law enshrined in the Constitution, the principles of economic activity, and the transport and energy network. The rest must be dealt with at local levels: That is the only way the weapon of demagoguery can be knocked from separatists' hands. Instead of "doing battle with Moscow" at rallies, people should exercise their talents in real action at home.

But the success or failure of economic reform is the main factor on which the preservation of Russia's integrity and peace and order within it depends. It is not hard to understand why all our regions (like all the former Soviet republics) are making such frenzied attempts to establish direct contacts with the United States, Japan, and Germany. "A husband loves a healthy wife, and a brother loves a rich sister." If we improve our economy even a little, we will have a Russia that—while not rich—will not be totally poor and all the regions will be drawn to the center as if by a magnet. But if our state continues to decline and go to ruin, neither threats nor entreaties, neither fist-waving nor speech-making, will help us to hold on to the regions. They will try to save themselves by swimming off in different directions.

Consequently, the attitude of patriots putting a spoke in the wheel of Russian reform and the Russian Government seems extremely strange. Surely they know what they are doing? Surely they realize that, by trying to destroy a leadership they hate, they are in fact destroying the single Russian state? Surely they realize that the salvation of the state they love—the "one and indivisible"—lies in support for the government they hate?

Russia's unity can be preserved. Either we will have a single, democratic, rich Russia, a federation of free regions—or a devastated, feudal, dying country with dozens of sovereign petty tyrants.

That is our choice.

Constitutional Concessions Granted to Republics

MK1803121592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 2

[Sergey Parkhomenko article under the "Constitution" rubric: "Rumyantsev's Draft Suffers First Losses. Autonomous Formations Lighten Center's Heavy Burden"]

[Text] From the very start no one doubted that the viability of any draft new Russian Federation Constitution depended on the attitude toward it taken by the leaders of Russia's autonomous formations and along with them by the numerous deputies from those formations, most of whom are members of the powerful "Sovereignty and Equality" faction in the republic parliament. Because the elaboration of a section regarding the federative structure of the republic which satisfies the ambitions of all parties was regarded as the key problem for the fate of the constitutional reform as a whole.

The final document submitted for the Congress' consideration failed to survive in its original version not only until 6 April, but even until its official publication. It suffered its first losses at the very first attempt to refer it for discussion outside the bounds of a relatively cozy range of parliamentary committees. And these losses related precisely to the section about the federative structure: This section is now to be included in the text of Russia's fundamental law in precisely the form in which it was initialed last Friday [13 March]—under the title "Federation Treaty"—by the leaders of 18 of the 20 republics comprising the Russian Federation (the exceptions being absent Checheno-Ingushetiya and rebellious Tatarstan). By his signature Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov gave his negotiating partners a guarantee that without their sanction the upcoming Congress would not make any changes to the text of the section in question.

So how substantial are the political trophies that the leaders of the autonomous formations can tally up at the end of the "groundwork" on the constitutional reform?

Let me remind you that the idea on which Rumyantsev's commission originally based the concept of the federal structure was the idea of abandoning the present three-tier hierarchy of administrative subordination, which envisages the existence of "privileged" autonomous republics on the one hand, of "ordinary" oblasts and krays on the other, and, third and finally, of autonomous oblasts and okrugs. So the first officially published draft (November 1990), although it did speak of two types of structural elements—"national and territorial state formations with the status of equal republics" and "federal territories"—quite clearly held out the prospect of territories gradually being raised to elite republic status. It also regulated an appropriate procedure, and in every instance of the use of this the very problem of "elite status" would have been systematically nullified for the Russian Federation. Ultimately Russia would inevitably have had to be transformed into a federation organized on the German "land" principle.

"Laender" as an administrative formation actually appeared in the text of the draft at the time of the second official publication (October 1991). However, dreams of a single-category system had rapidly to be abandoned: The opposition of the autonomous formations was so resolute that it left no hopes that the draft would be successfully approved. And in this version the "land" featured as a federation subject of a second, lower rank. The autonomous republics defended their own right to a higher rank and, incidentally, by this time had managed to get that very epithet removed from their name (they became merely "republics within the Russian Federation").

In the course of further drafting work on the document the Constitutional Commission deemed it best, in order "to avoid unnecessary bloodshed," to stage an organized retreat from yet another defensive position by returning the third, administrative, level to the autonomous formations as well. When deputies examined the question of placing the debate on the draft fundamental law on the Congress agenda they already had in their hands a text which contained the familiar list in the section entitled "Federative Structure": republics, krays, oblasts...Moreover, the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg had bargained their way into obtaining similar status to oblasts—the privileges of the federal District of Columbia clearly preoccupy their mayors.

As could have been assumed, the republics were left with, to use an expression that became almost an official term among the Russian leadership, a "full panoply" of attributes of sovereignty which contains fundamental differences from the status of "ordinary" oblasts. It includes the right to adopt and amend a constitution and republic laws; to form their own representative and executive organs of power and to compulsory representation in federal organs; to appoint supreme court justices; to regulate citizenship, state service, state languages and state symbols...

Having repulsed encroachments on their age-old privileges, the republics within the Russian Federation saw no reason to remain satisfied with merely those privileges. In promising their support to the ideologists of constitutional reform they clearly were most afraid of exacting too low a price when the time came to discuss the new scheme for the demarcation of powers and competence. Today there can be no doubt: The supporters of the draft will have paid an exceptionally high price for the votes of deputies from the autonomous formations. It is not all that easy to trace their retreat from "strong Federation" positions in the division of functions of power throughout all versions of the text, but the dash made by their opponents during the final lap—agreement of the Federation Treaty—is impressive.

In an "endeavor to relieve Russia's leadership of the burden of overcentralization," as Vladimir Shtygashev, chairman of the Khakassia Supreme Soviet, elegantly defined the task, the republics' leaders focused their efforts on several main directions when they met 13 March.

The problem of control over mineral resources (and over various natural resources in general) was central here. The success achieved in resolving it should be regarded as the most appreciable. The autonomous formations ceded little to the center—the [continental] shelf, the 200-mile maritime zone. They possess all other natural wealth on their territory and now have almost undivided control over it: The Federation retains the right to establish only fundamentals of legislation here; direct-acting legislation is the prerogative of the republics.

Characteristically, the "status of federal natural resources" is henceforth defined exclusively "by mutual agreement" between the central and republic authorities. But hitherto it has been precisely the constitutional norm which allowed federal organs to take especially valuable deposits into their own jurisdiction that has ensured that if any complications arise they have control over strategic (in both the economic and the military senses) reserves of raw materials.

Something else closely connected with this theme is the question of autonomy in international ties, especially foreign economic ties, of course. Indeed: What is the point of possessing mineral resources if the export of raw materials is strictly regulated by central organs, perhaps through the establishment of quotas. Here too the autonomous formations seem to have gotten the maximum: The treaty lays down that "republics are autonomous participants in international and foreign economic ties." (Precisely "ties" and not "relations," as Saturday's issue said. Russian Federation Supreme Soviet legal experts claim that there is a great difference between the concepts, judging by the special denial issued by the press center. However, Karelian Supreme Soviet Chairman Viktor Stepanov, whose words were the basis for the quotation of the text of the agreement, clearly did not attach any importance to the difference.) And even the coordination of political and economic activity in the international arena is now categorized not among the exclusive powers of the Federation, but as part of the sphere of joint competence.

Another matter of fierce debate was the approach toward forming the federal budget: The argument about single-channel and two-channel budget systems awakened lively recollections of the times of the rule of the USSR State Council and the implacable confrontation between the Union center and the republics. In this sphere the autonomous formations' attack did not yield immediate results, since it is proposed to finally define the system of relations in this sphere in a special law, to which the constitution refers.

On the other hand this was one of the grounds on which the parties to the talks demanded that Ruslan Khasbulatov give guarantees that, in elaborating the whole package of direct-acting legislative acts envisaged by the constitutional reform, parliament will strictly follow the basic principles laid down by the Federation Treaty. And only ardent assurances from the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chairman that his own authority and that of the Russian president are enough to quell any refractory behavior by deputies persuaded the republics' leaders to sign the document....

But nevertheless, representatives of the Constitutional Commission, judging by their own words, do not regard the results of Friday's conference as a defeat either. Not only because the initiative draft agreements that almost all the delegations that came to the White House brought with them in their briefcases were not actually taken out. These drafts, incidentally, were usually an outright copy of the famous Gorbachev Union Treaty in both letter and spirit.

A far more important point is that it proved possible to avoid the main danger, which lay in a toughening of the autonomous formations' stance. The concept of the Federation Treaty as a document forming an alternative to the constitution as a whole and as an act taking the place of the constitution and even making it impossible to adopt it was rejected as a result of the meeting. One of the leaders of the commission bluntly told journalists before the start of the talks: "In discussing the Federation Treaty you can give up anything you like except the last article—the one that defines the Agreement on the Demarcation of Powers as a component element of the constitution."

That is exactly what happened. The Russian center did indeed give up everything else.

Economy Minister Nechayev on Prices, Debts

LD1803215392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Andrey Nechayev, Russia's minister of the economy, held a news conference today. Following the derestriction of the prices of energy carriers, the prices of goods and foodstuffs will rise by 50-70 percent. That is the minister's forecast. Moreover, according to him, the government is going to double the minimum level of pensions and pay. The details are contained in our correspondent's report: [video shows news conference scenes throughout].

[Correspondent S.Suntsov] Describing the economic situation, the minister noted that prices in Russia have increased by five times in February, while production volume has fallen by 12.5 percent. The government is, on the whole, managing to uphold the overall line of the first stage of the reforms—improving finances by means of a tough credit and budget policy. There is a serious danger today of a possible crisis arising from the insolvency of enterprises: there is less and less cash in their accounts. A number of credit privileges are expected to be provided—primarily for agriculture and the sectors that serve it. The government is counting on foreign credit, Nechayev said. It proved possible, during talks, to unfreeze Italian credits, which will be used to purchase raw materials, goods, and industrial equipment and also to pay off commercial debts.

Government To Soften Credit Policies

OW1903023092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] General price rise, caused by the liberalization of prices on fuel will not be very strong, says Russian Minister for Economy Andrey Nechayev. Speaking at a press conference on Wednesday he said that in the government's estimate, the price rise will stand at 50 to

70 per cent. Such a modest price is due to the government's commitments to rise, said Nechayev, keep the money mass under control [sentence as received].

Speaking about the economic indices in February, Nechayev said that the rates of inflation went down as the government had expected. Whereas in January prices rose 5 times compared with the end of 1991, in February price rise stood at 75 per cent.

As a result of price rise many enterprises failed to pay for the output already loaded for them. At the moment, their debt amounts to 220 billion roubles.

Obviously, the government will soften its credit policies, said Nechayev. There are plans to introduce soft centralized investment credits worth about 200 billion roubles. The government will assume part of the commitments for servicing such credits.

'About 90 Percent' of Russians Below Poverty

LD1803195992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to Russian Goskomstat figures published by the INTERFAX agency, about 90 percent of the republic's population is living below the poverty line. The population's average monthly income is now 895 rubles. Goskomstat considers the minimum sufficient income to be 1,500 a month. Only seven percent of the population receive this amount.

Farmers Slaughter Unprofitable Livestock

PM1903111792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Zhigalov: "Man With Gun in Stockyard"]

[Text] Samara Oblast—Samara's kolkhozes and sovkhozes are having to earn money to pay wages by means of the knife and the gun—they are slaughtering and selling their livestock even now, in spring.

The gunshots in broad daylight on the "Novaya Zhizn" kolkhoz livestock unit almost caused uproar in the village. But it turned out that it was not rustlers with black stockings over their faces who were shooting at the steers—it was men with guns from that farm's village. They were reduced to this "cull" by necessity. The kolkhoz members, who had not received any pay for several months, were complaining. But there was no money to be had. The kolkhoz already owed the bank hundreds of thousands of rubles. So then they began slaughtering cattle, pigs, and sheep.

Many kolkhozes in the oblast are resorting to that "source of finance." Current prices for equipment, construction materials, and fuels and lubricants have...reduced both those who work hard and those who are idle to the same state. Farms which just yesterday were powerful and profitable do not have a red cent left in their bank accounts. Bank credits provide 25 percent, even 35 percent of annual revenue. But with present prices for agricultural equipment, spares, and fuels and lubricants...credits are not enough.

In past winters dairy farms "earned" the money to pay the wages. But this year they, too, have made a loss. Fixed prices for milk are operating in the oblast. The maximum price is 4 rubles [R] 50 kopeks a liter. But a kilo of mixed feed costs R7-R12. What about other costs? The money earned from the sale of milk produced by a herd of 1,200 head is not enough even to maintain the sovkhoz boiler house.

With the present distortion of prices, milk and meat production has become unprofitable. Thus by slaughtering livestock farms are solving two problems at the same time. They are earning the money they urgently need for wages and reducing the herd size.

In Samara Oblast the herd on the oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhozes has fallen by several thousand head in comparison with last year. The dairy herd and the breeding herd are still being maintained. But a number of times kolkhoz chairmen gave me the gloomy prediction that if the price distortion continues even the breeding herd will be slaughtered.

According to figures from the Russian State Committee for Statistics published in the press, the number of cattle has declined this year by over 2 million. No one has calculated how many cattle are being slaughtered on private peasant holdings. Even private farmers do not want to become involved in stockraising. The reason is always the same—it is not profitable.

But the government, despite constant talk about the priority of the countryside, has bought up last year's grain harvest for mixed feed at R300-R400 a tonne and is now selling mixed feed to the farms at R8,000-R12,000 a tonne. Clearly even now the upper echelons of power either do not want or cannot learn the lessons of their predecessors' costly mistakes. During "Khrushchev's thaw," by order private farms abandoned the herd overnight and it has still not been restored. Now, however, the price discrepancy for industrial and agricultural output threatens to leave Russia without meat and milk.

Further Ruble Exchange Rate Decline Predicted

PM1803141992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Article by Sergey Panasenko: "New Ruble 'Collapse' Is Most Likely Inevitable"]

[Text] Three weeks ago a British businessman in need of rubles "for expenses" complained that he could not change his pounds sterling: He had no time to stand in line for hours.

Russian citizens have recently encountered a problem which would never have occurred to them: The Savings Bank has not been taking dollars because it had nothing to give in exchange. It is true that it looks as though the shortage of rubles for exchange was largely artificial, aimed at doing everything to bring down the price of the dollar.

The calculation was psychologically correct: The small-scale holders of dollars "for a rainy day" discarded them in a panic. The immediate result was an aggravation of the cash crisis. The ruble's new exchange rate was almost twice as high as the preceding one—but it is still not high enough, in the government's opinion.

Nonetheless, the further decline of the dollar has come to a standstill. That has happened because the money market has received a more important (and therefore belated) signal from the professionals: commercial banks and other serious clients. Throughout these days they were calmly and efficiently accumulating dollars and so skillfully that for quite a long time they did not give themselves away in any respect (which would of course have spoiled the whole game).

Now the government and its experts predict a new improvement in the ruble's exchange rate against the dollar in connection with the forthcoming liberalization of prices for fuel. But the commercial banks seem not to be heeding these predictions: It is just as hard as before to buy ready currency from them and the selling rate remains at a quite high level—115-120 rubles [R] a dollar—and is showing no signs of decreasing.

Assuring everyone in the vicinity that the ruble will soon start to increase in price again, the Russian leadership seems not to have any great belief in this itself. It has included in its memorandum a mechanism for two exchange rates: one for investment operations, the other for everything else. The logic is clear: In principle, with an exchange rate of 150-200 noncash rubles a dollar, the purchase of an enterprise costing R5-10 million is within the means of a small-scale commercial traveler. Thus there is born the plan to prevent the fatherland from being sold off on the cheap.

The reality is, incidentally, that there is no one in the West eager to buy up this fatherland by the block or by the city. Individual production facilities may undoubtedly be of interest to foreign businessmen, but no more. And the dual "patriotic" exchange rate, which is obviously a concession to certain conservative forces, is a redundant precaution.

The best way of really increasing the ruble exchange rate is to encourage demand for the ruble. Including through the extensive sale of real estate to foreigners for rubles. Only in the process of market exchange would a real exchange rate start to emerge and not before it, whatever wise people may have conceived it.

The influence of the liberalization of prices for fuel and energy resources on the price of the ruble therefore deserve more attentive study. The effect of the transition to resource-saving technologies—even if it emerges—will be tangible far from immediately but we shall soon notice the winding down of a number of production facilities. But the reduction of industrial output will be an additional factor impairing the ruble. The government hopes to balance it with a six-billion stabilization fund, although given the disintegrating economy this fund will sooner or later be eaten up without having been able to help it.

In this situation it would be logical to expect the government to undertake resolute and drastic measures (not only economic but political) to encourage demand for rubles, primarily from large-scale Western investors. Such actions are not to be seen. It is most likely for precisely that reason that in the next month what awaits us is not an increase but a decline in the cost of the ruble and it will not be halted even by new waves of dollar sales in the face of the imminent increase in the cost of living. The ruble has taken a breath and is on the point of sliding downward again.

'Rational' Approaches to Oil Industry Examined

PM1803142092 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 8, Feb 92 pp 16-18

[Article by Valeriy Neverov, President of the Hermes Company: "The Country Is Bleeding Dry of Oil"]

[Text] The Russian government's experts believe the production of oil on the territory of the former USSR to be 460 million tons [as published]. The CIA's assessment gives the figure of 425 million. However, the Hermes analysts predict the actual drop to 410 million. If that prediction is realized, Russia will have to give up its export of oil altogether and consequently cut down on its imports, particularly imports of food, including grain. Moreover, starting from the second half of 1991, Russia will have to search for new sources of payment for oil imports.

Backwardness: from oil prospecting to gas-filling stations

This country's energy generation and fuels integrated industry used to be the leader in terms of capital investment, to the detriment of other industries, for decades. In 1986-1989, that industry accounted for almost 40 percent of all the capital investments in this country's industries. This share mustn't be increased if we want to be able to produce anything apart from the fuels. It would seem that the lion's share of overall investment should ensure this industry far more efficient production resources, compared against the resources of the consumer-goods industries from the so-called "B" bracket. In fact, the situation of the industry in question, or at any rate, of its oil branch, is as bad as that of light industry.

In 1986-1990, the oil and gas industry received capital investment to the tune of 72.2 billion rubles (in current prices). The bulk of the investment was used to increase the main productive assets of the monopolist producer of oil, the Ministry of Oil and Gas Industry. Eventually, its productive assets accrued to the level of 120 billion rubles. But the equipment in question was obsolete—in comparison with the world standard—already when it was produced. The technological backwardness of the equipment could be measured in decades, rather than years. Often, the capital was invested in production of installations designed back in the 1950s. One in every three well-reconditioning units in current use here is of the type phased out of production five to seven years ago. They ceased to be advanced models long before that. In the meantime, the captains of the industry have been asking for ever more capital investments. But the plans for designing new equipment remain unfulfilled not because of a lack of investment in research. From 640 new models of equipment and instruments (planned to be designed in the latest five-year plan period) 140 haven't been developed yet. And the 500 which have been developed are surely years behind the world's latest achievements.

Almost all the oil extracted here goes to local refineries. In 1990, the country extracted 552 million tons of oil and refined 455.6 million tons (practically all the rest was exported). The degree of refining was unsatisfactorily low: according to official reports, it was merely 63 percent in 1990. The absence of economically motivated ties between the extraction and processing of oil is glaring and manifests itself in the work of commercial structures involved: in November 1991, crude oil went for a higher average price than gasoline, at the Moscow Commodity Exchange!

All sequential technological stages—from oil prospecting to, figuratively speaking, gas-filling station—are in an equally (or even more) deplorable situation than the oil extraction. For example, 70 percent of the equipment currently used by the oil-refining industry is obsolete.

The cream has been skimmed off

Scientists have long ago developed optimal modes of exploitation of the oil-bearing seams, ensuring fairly high output. However, the currently employed technology here ensures an output merely at the rate of 35 percent. An excellent example are the oil fields of Western Siberia. Under an intensive extraction mode, the corresponding rate goes down to 27-28 percent. The state always wanted its oil readily available and therefore made the oilers step up the extraction. Sometimes oil fields were given up as exhausted merely after extraction of 9-10 percent of oil potentially deposited in its oil-bearing seams.

Under the superintensive exploitation of the Samotlor oil fields, the maximal output (130 million tons a year) was reached quickly, and equally quick was the ensuing slump in extraction. As a result, huge oil reserves are irretrievably lost. The cream was skimmed off quickly, and the early 1980s marked the start of a precipitous plunge in the rate of oil extraction.

There is no adequate replacement for the potentially highly-productive oil fields which have been used up in a matter of few years, partly as a result of inefficiency in geological prospecting. No new large natural deposits of oil were discovered in Western Siberia in latest years. Therefore a large number of small oil fields had to be tapped. By January 1986, 856 oil fields were under development around this country, and by January 1990, 1,099. Today the oil extraction rate is dropping at four of every five oil fields. The rate of drilling prospecting holes was 20 percent down in 1989-1991, resulting in the reduction of accrual of the discovered natural reserves of oil by 27 percent alone. Half of the discovered reserves are in 46 natural deposits, 30 of which are in Tyumen.

The style of oil extraction practiced in this country can be compared with the ways of a hunter who kills big game for the sake of a little of the best parts, leaving the huge rest of the carcass behind. Such wasteful practices are also applied to casing-head gas, 12 billion cu m of which got burned away annually, as well as to the oil proper the degree of extraction from the seams which remains shamefully low, and to the natural environment itself—stretches of tundra, taiga, and steppe are getting fouled up by oil spilled around due to the unsophisticated technologies used. The country has 52 R&D [research and development] and design institutes employing several thousand Full and Candidate Doctors of Sciences, but the actual technologies used in oil extraction are hopelessly lagging behind the world's standards.

The world's cheapest oil

In 1986-1990, the state maintained the oil price at practically the same level: between 24.89 rubles and 25.70 rubles. That low price was presumed to result from low average oil extraction cost: 14.88 rubles in 1986, and 21.92 rubles in 1990. In 1991, the price was hiked to about 70 rubles.

But can the country really profit from quoting that low price for its oil? Why is a ton of oil similar to Soviet oil fetches $150 in the world market and 2,000-2,500 rubles in the Commodity Exchanges in this country (and is bought at that price not only for the purpose of speculation)? The exceptionally low cost of Soviet oil is explained by an unhusbandly approach to the exploitation of oil fields here. Millions of acres of oil-contaminated land didn't have a "price tag," which also determined the low cost of oil.

The new Russian Government introduced huge payment rates for the use of land under oil rigs, but did it rather clumsily: on a fine October day in 1991, the oilers learned that they were expected to remit several million rubles to the state for the use of the land, before the year was out. At the same time, the state oil price remained as low as ever. At the same time, the market price for oil almost reached 3,000 rubles a ton, while the state experts and specialists from the former USSR Ministry of Oil and Gas Industry suggested to price a ton of oil at 240-450 rubles.

The oilers are still supposed to sell almost all the oil they extract at the superlow government prices, and almost the entire profits from the sale of a small part of the oil on the free market are being snatched from them into either the "industry- stabilization" fund or the "region-stabilization" fund.

New Russian Roulette

Other countries are very considerate and sparing about their non- reproducible resources, including oil. It is enough to point out that the world (apart from the USSR) hasn't whatsoever increased its oil production in the last decade. The majority of oil wells, especially in the USA, remain stopped.

The former rulers of this country concealed from their nation the fact that the export of oil from the USSR reached an enormous amount of 170 million tons a year or even more, all of it dumped for 25-30 rubles a ton (for the COMECON) and 70-80 rubles worth of hard currency (for the West).

Giant oil exports lasted until 1990: 125.9m tons in 1988, 115m tons in 1989, and 99.25m tons in 1990. The prices remained very low all the time. . Western speculators reselling Soviet crude oil and petroleum products at a huge profit dubbed heir operation "new Russian roulette."

In 1991, the state licensed export of 150m tons of oil (against the initial plan of 61m tons). How could this happen? Who actually is responsible for issuing those licenses? The size of presumable bribes involved is mind-boggling, considering that to purchase one ton of oil for 1,000-2,000 rubles and to resell it for $120-$150 brings an enormous profit.

An unexpected recall of all the previously issued licenses hit primarily the oilers, who found their monthly export quotas cut by 90 percent by the close of the year, rather than the speculators (who surely found a way to extricate themselves from the precarious situation).

The ban on oil deliveries from Russia which was imposed last November and dictated by understandable motives evidently ignored relations existing in the oil industry. Though these relations were built not on the basis of the market economy, the rupture of those didn't bring forth a new system of relations. Nothing of worth was offered as a replacement of the former ties. Was it an act of fighting against the plundering of national wealth? But why then did even more companies take up trade in oil and development of oil fields which virtually are now the property of foreigners and people closely linked with the top officialdom? The following pattern shows up here: In the beginning the country's oil industry was infiltrated by small-scale and medium companies, and now it is infested by big companies. The country's best natural oil deposits are being leased on a long-term basis foreign concessions for a song, with the excuse that the deposits are as good as lost all the same.

Who robbed the oilers?

We have extracted 41 percent of all the oil in the bowels of the earth in this country. This rate for Western Siberia is 26.8 percent. It was the easiest oil to extract at minimal cost. Now, the mean rate of yield of the wells is steadily going down. There is little oil left in the chief deposits.

In the old oil-producing regions, the mean ratio of drained deposits can be as high as 75 percent. The rate of depletion, due to extraction, of the oil deposits in Russia is 3-5 times higher than in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Venezuela, or Kuwait.

As much as 77 percent of the overall oil reserves discovered in Tymen (which accounts for two thirds of the entire oil extracted in this country) have been tapped and drawn from. In 1980, more oil was extracted in the Tyumen Region than in any single country of the world. Incidentally, this country is second only to Saudi Arabia in terms of discovered oil reserves. We continue to pump oil from the earth, ignoring the loss incurred. This country could certainly do with strict legal regulations concerning extraction of oil from seams. The state must concern itself with the strategy and introduction of legally binding conditions of extraction of oil, rather than petty patronage. Otherwise the main function—which can be fulfilled by none but the state bodies—will be overlooked and neglected. The actual routine work will be best of all carried out by economic managers, especially if they successfully evolve into regular business entrepreneurs.

Why are the living standards of Tyumen oilers inferior to those of their colleagues abroad and even those of the majority of their compatriots, though oil-producing regions can boast the highest living standards everywhere else in the world? In this country, only 81.4 percent of oilers' families have adequate housing, while the relevant figure for the Tyumen Region is even less: 69 percent. People are often living in trailers here. The average wage in that industry in 1991 was only 454 rubles a month, though 51,000 oilers are manning their rigs on the basis of weeks-long shifts.

Who misappropriates the gains exacted through the labor effort of oilers and how? What were dozens of billions of rubles earmarked for development of the oil industry actually spent for? What was the purpose of the oilers' toil out in the biting cold of 40 degrees Centigrade? The oil of Tyumen brought the regime another one and a half decades of life. At first, the regime depredated and squandered the wealth accrued—in grinding toil—by the preceding generations, then it started to plunder reserves which ought to be preserved for the generations to come who are thus robbed of oil and the riches. The future generations have as much right to this country's national wealth as the current generations, and it is impermissible to ignore the interests of the latter. In the so-called "stagnation period" (and later), the rate of oil export from this country was limited only by the handling capacity of pipelines and sea ports. The actual price of that policy was: dropping of alternatives which will never recur in the future, because of the critical depletion of oil deposits, irretrievable contamination of land, and also debilitation of the health of hundreds of thousands and even millions of people.

Privatization

We have no time to build up resolution for action. If we continue to abstain from drilling new holes, we won't be able to extract any oil at all after five years, if the current downward tendency persists. In 1990, we had to commit to operation 166 new wells (which is 2.3 times as many as in 1980) in order to make up for the loss of used up oil-yielding capacities to the tune of one million tons. Now, compensation of the comparable loss will require sinking 240-250 new and deeper wells (the average well depth was 2,003 metres in 1980 and 2,340 metres in 1990). It is acueous oil emulsion rather than pure oil that is pumped from the wells now. Separation of water from oil is an increasingly costly affair, equal to the oil extraction in general.

This country's oil industry is experiencing a deep crisis the extent of which, perhaps, is not fully realized by the government which has recently adopted several virtually counterproductive decisions. For the sake of reaching momentary goals, the initiative of Russian entrepreneurs gets hamstrung, while foreign companies are offered an opportunity for quick gains.

Everywhere in the word, licenses for development of natural deposits are openly sold through auction. But in this country, the Supreme Soviet still hasn't opened discussion of the draft legislation on mineral resources exploitation, which is supposed to provide the sole legal basis for foreign involvement in that sphere of the economy. All the current changes in the proprietorial rights in the oil industry are aimed to suit the interests of a rather narrow circle.

People have grown used to believe that oil production and processing must remain a state monopoly and should be carried out on state enterprises only. However, a more rational approach to the issue (like turning the state concerns into possession of shareholders companies) can earn the state huge revenue (about 200,000,000 rubles in a matter of 6-8 weeks) and ensure normal further development of the industry. For all that, the state will have the largest share holding. True, extraction of oil is an investment-intensive industry. The question is: who is going to finance it and how? Profuse investment from the state budget has proved to be unable to bring about a change for the better. Moreover, further state investment is not only ineffective but also impossible now. According to government experts, the oil industry financing deficit for 1992 will be 30 billion rubles. Therefore the industry has to be denationalized and demonopolized.

No other oil industry in the world receives state donations. Oilers know how to earn their living and also sizably replenish the public coffers through taxes they pay.

We have a chance to avert a national catastrophe, but the chance is getting ever slimmer with every passing day. Therefore we propose to without delay embark on open discussion of the issue of the structure of production relations in the oil industry and promptly launch the implementation of a corresponding programme.

Paper's Suspension Just 'Regrouping of Forces'

LD1803160892 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Commentary by Viktor Yenikeyev]

[Text] The recent suspension of the former Communist daily PRAVDA was rightly seen as an extraordinary event. One other paper RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, which used to be the mouthpiece of the Party's Central Committee has also failed to see print on Tuesday [17 March], and last week the Party weekly GLASNOST was undelivered to its subscribers.

The set back is caused by financial difficulties and rising newsprint and distribution costs. What may have seemed inconceivable until recently happened because PRAVDA can no longer rely for financial support by the once powerful Communist Party, most of whose members operate in hiding. And the paper's own resources are not what they used to be. Other publications have already felt the bitter taste of financial squeezes at a time of rising newsprint and production costs which made the Russian leader Boris Yeltsin to step in to help the mass media keep afloat.

In its last edition before closure PRAVDA carried an appeal to its readership complaining about being brought to its knees because of being unacceptable by the authorities old and new. Its jargon and style do little credit to the authors. More importantly, however, the paper's stuck-in-the-mud reporting lost it many of its former subscribers, mainly communists who broke away with the Party after last year's August coup.

The paper's opposition to democratic and economic reforms and its calls to topple Russia's legitimate Government and for resurrecting the former Soviet Union is little likely to evoke sympathy.

Even some of the paper's reporters concede PRAVDA and other party publications are still being plagued by the old fashioned stereotypes and communist dogmas.

It would be wrong to think that PRAVDA will go bankrupt as papers often do in the West. The paper's assurance of staging a comeback should not be treated lightly, and as the Moscow-based IZVESTIYA writes: Today huge sums of Party money, both in local and hard currency, have now been laundered after being stashed away in secret accounts. In more than 70 years of uncontested rule the Party has amassed so much wealth as to back up dozens of papers such as PRAVDA. IZVESTIYA also points to a wide range of new publications whose sponsors or publishers prefer to stay anonymous, with many of these being free on offer. Only a wealthy publisher can afford this, so the recent suspension of PRAVDA and other former Communist Party newspapers looks very much as a regrouping of forces.

Communication Agency's Future Pondered

PM1303144792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Mar 92 First Edition p 8

[Aleksandr Golubev article under the "Reading to Any Taste" rubric: "Government Communications: Guarding Your Secrets Is Our Concern"]

[Text] Probably for the first time since the failed putsch a real reason has emerged to turn attention to one of the structures of the state security organs, which somehow used to stay in the shadow—the government communications service. The ease with which the conspirators deprived the USSR president of communication with the world and the shamelessness with which the telephones of Russian and Union leaders were bugged made an impression even on the worldly-wise Soviet public. Against this background the decision to excise from the KGB all the structures that had a bearing on government communications and to set up an independent department on their basis appeared perfectly logical. Later the wisdom of that step was also confirmed by the conclusions of the USSR state commission which investigated the reasons for and circumstances of the anticonstitutional coup.

It has to be said that the very coming into being of the Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information [FAGCI] did not create any special organizational problems, since the leaders of the KGB directorates that made it up had long understood the need for such a reorganization and even under Kryuchkov had drawn up a corresponding draft (true, they did not have time to set it in motion). The problems—very serious ones, too—have emerged today. The FAGCI leadership will find it quite difficult to overcome them without the support of the authorities.

What is the Agency of Federal Communications and Information [title as published] like today, and why has the need to speak about its problems arisen? The few articles about the FAGCI, even if gathered together, would hardly provide a full picture of the scale of its activity. To ensure the communications of the president, parliament, the government, the ministries, and the administration heads and to create the technical basis for control of the armed forces, including strategic forces—this is just one component, albeit a very important one. In addition, the agency notifies emergency situations and conducts very complex scientific research. Suffice it to say that hundreds of candidates and doctors of sciences—specialists in all types of communication—work in the system. The existence of its own cryptographic service enables the FAGCI to protect the secrecy of government communications from foreign technical intelligence services.

Naturally, all this requires a very strong base. The FAGCI has one at its disposal: hundreds of automatic stations, its own 16,000 troops, satellites, complexes of very sophisticated computer systems, unique apparatus for encoding and decoding secret information...The agency's fixed capital alone is valued at tens of billions of rubles at old prices.

It has to be acknowledged that the quality characteristics of the work of FAGCI specialists are also very high. True, the majority of them are secret, but even those that can be revealed will make an impression not only on an ordinary citizen but also on a specialist. Thus, for example, the maximum time for establishing communications is 10 seconds, while the likelihood of making contact at the first attempt is 99.9999 percent. This applies even if Boris Nikolayevich, for example, should suddenly want to speak with Kabul from his official limousine while in America.

The coders' cryptoschemes now in use make it possible to assert that it will take approximately 80 years to decipher a secret report. If we speak of scientific developments and new technologies, then technical counterintelligence and intelligence are probably one of those rare fields in which we are at present in no way inferior to the acknowledged Western leaders—the United States and Britain.

But the complex and well-tuned FAGCI mechanism could start to malfunction in the very near future. It is not hard to guess that this will be, above all, because of the lack of money. The agency needs a lot, but the coffers are empty. It is characteristic, however, that the present FAGCI leadership does not consider the situation hopeless. But, before taking practical steps, two fundamental decisions are required.

First of all, it is necessary to decide whether we need the FAGCI as an independent structure. The question seems paradoxical, but nonetheless it has recently been possible to hear it said increasingly frequently that the maintenance of several special services at once is a burden beyond our budget's capabilities. Particularly as the winds now blowing from the Potomac are not cold but warm. Also it is already being said that it would not be a bad thing to return the FAGCI to its own nest—the state security organs. Particularly as the coordination of their activities will be improved, or so it is said.

How is this opinion to be assessed? First, it must be pointed out that the analogous services in all developed countries are fully independent and obey either the president's directives (like the National Security Agency in the United States) or the premier (like the Government Communications Headquarters in Britain). This certainly is not because these rich states can afford to be choosy. It is simply that it was only in a totalitarian society that a situation could arise in which the KGB chairman, who issued instructions to bug the telephone conversations of the country's top leaders, was in charge of the service that was obliged to ensure the secrecy of those conversations. But this was not the only thing. The fact that foreign intelligence, counterintelligence, and the technical services incorporated in the government communications system were all subordinate to one person made it possible to filter out the information that went to the top persons in the state. In other words, it largely depended on the single leader of the special services how full the information would be that was placed at the disposal of the head of state with regard to a particular problem and, accordingly, what decision he would make. We remember what this can lead to by the way the first and last president of the USSR repeatedly failed to keep up with events (in the Baltic region, for example).

As regards the FAGCI's rivalry with foreign technical intelligence services, I am sure that the need for such activity will not drop away quickly, despite the warming of the international climate.

Incidentally, the FAGCI's independence is also good because it makes it possible to save money on its upkeep. In the past, when government communications were subordinate to the state security leader, it used to happen that political considerations prevailed over technical considerations in its management. A unified automated government communications system began to be set up several decades ago. At the same time, however, they overestimated the potential of our industry. The program had to be curtailed, but, so as not to harm its prestige, the leadership of the state security organs did not allow that to be done for a long time. As a result, a load of money was wasted on a hopeless program. It was only when the government communications system was headed by professionals who were able to prove the uselessness of continuing the work and to assess a number of the developments which had already been carried out that it was possible to channel them in a new direction and literally rescue some of the money that had already been spent. If we do not want to spend unnecessary money on government communications in the future, they must remain the domain of professional technicians (incidentally, contrary to a claim by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, Academician A. Starovoytov, the FAGCI's present general director, worked previously certainly not as head of the Penza Oblast KGB but as general director of one of the major closed science-and-production associations).

All this is fine, people might say to me, but where is money to be found to maintain an independent agency? Technical innovations do not have a long life, and tremendous expenditure is needed on scientific research alone. Indeed, tens of thousands of people work in the cryptographic services alone both here and in America. But the problem is perfectly soluble. For this, however, it is necessary to make a second fundamental decision—on conversion and the partial commercialization of FAGCI activities, which, of course, will not affect the provision of communications to the country's leadership. The very powerful technical facilities which used to serve the party nomenklatura have now been set free. It is perfectly possible to use them to equip electronic exchanges, banks, major independent economic structures, and law enforcement organs. It is possible to put some of the freed "Kremlin hot lines" and "intercoms" to paid use. Particularly as the first experience already exists: When the Ministry of Communications demanded 1 billion rubles from the FAGCI for the primary communications channels which it provides and which the agency rigs up accordingly, the agency in turn began to reconsider economic relations with the consumers. It was then that one removed a "Kremlin hot line" from his dacha, another refused a spare line in his office, and so on. At the same time many businessmen and commercial structures are prepared to pay money for good-quality communications. The agency can also provide significant services in protection against industrial espionage. With the further development of market relations, other fresh opportunities for the agency's self-financing will undoubtedly arise.

Today he who has more information triumphs. The FAGCI not only ensures the safety of our information but also helps to supplement it from various sources. Therefore the independence of this service, including economic independence, is an urgent requirement of the times.

Special Course on Intelligence Services Offered

PM1803163192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 1

[Report by L. Krutakov: "Who Will Go on Intelligence Mission With Primakov?"]

[Text] A special course on the work of intelligence services will henceforth be on offer at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry. It will include fundamentals of agents' work and photographic work, and the aims and tasks of intelligence under modern conditions will be explained.

Yesterday Ye. Primakov, chief of the External Intelligence Service, himself gave the introductory lecture of the special course. Yevgeniy Maksimovich said that, despite the chaos that has the country in its grip, intelligence is still "up to the mark."

In conclusion Primakov said that students of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations used to be recruited after lengthy indoctrination, and it was only then that the kind of activity that they would have to engage in was explained to them. People will now be admitted to intelligence in the spirit of the times—in accordance with their wishes.

Moscow Institute's Space Laser Programs Eyed

927Q0084A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Dmitriy Frolov: "Space Superweapon Did Not Go Through: This Did Not Grieve Its Creators Too Much. They Are Ready To Heat Our Homes"]

[Text] **Science**

From the outside, the Institute of Thermal Processes looks typical: The usual absence of signs at the entrance, an alarm system on the top of the fence like those that surround "sacred boundaries," and in the yard in front of the administrative building, not intended for strangers' eyes but designed to fill employees' hearts with pride, is a model of a renowned product—in this case, the multiple rocket launcher Katyusha—in a word, the entire gentlemanly framework of an ordinary secret "box" is present. This ordinariness, however, is a sham: It is not every defense scientific research institute that can brag about participation in such a global project, for example, as the creation of one of the key components of the Soviet star wars program—a combat space laser.

Originally, this gas dynamics unit was not intended for such specific purposes. When it appeared at the beginning of the 1970's, a power of 100 kilowatts was an achievement in itself. However, it is not difficult to imagine that the ability to cut a metallic plate the thickness of a finger gave birth to a picture in the mind of the military that was no less impressive than the destruction of an aniline plant and the cutting up of flying airplanes in the once popular novel about engineer Garin. Most likely, the gas laser was only one of the contenders for the role of an outer space hyperboloid; however, in the opinion of specialists, it had real chances of becoming one. The wreck of the orbital station Skif, aboard which it was planned to conduct an experiment of this program, well-known political changes in the country and the world, and material conditions prevented the completion of the project—a prototype of the superweapon remained on the grounds of the institute in a building whose interior more closely resembles a neglected workshop than a weapons test stand of the 21st century. Today, with the help of this laser, contractual work is being completed on the selection of industrial welding modes.

Literally within several dozens of steps there is another sight at the institute from the once popular series of claims of being "the first and the best" in everything. A cyclopean laser, whose average estimated power reaches 10 megawatts, has been installed in the rebuilt three-story building of a former boiler plant. With the help of a system of mirrors nine of its rays, each the thickness of an arm, are joined into one with a diameter of only 50 millimeters. This building was intended for experiments on the creation of an outer space laser engine. The principle of its operation was rather simple: A gas serves as the working medium for the creation of jet propulsion—for example hydrogen, which expands in the engine chamber under the ray of a gigantic laser that is located on the ground. It is perfectly obvious that the embodiment of such a "simple" principle requires the implementation of unbelievably complex technical decisions and their corresponding costs. No one knows for certain how much the first stage of construction of the laser giant cost. Also unknown is to what degree our capability to create an automated guidance system corresponded to such a global task; thus, the entire project either fell into the sphere of scientific fantasy, or was realistic nonetheless. In any case, by 1991 the program was halted for a long time, if not forever.

Both of the aforementioned curiosities are located in premises leased today by a scientific production company with limited responsibility, NIITP-FOR [Scientific Research Institute of Thermal Processes; expansion of FOR not given]—a firm that considered itself the successor to the school of Keldysh and Petrov, which emerged on the basis of one of the departments of the institute which was working on the basis of the intellectual property accumulated there and was using institute equipment. The sphere of activity of this commercial subdivision not only lies outside a "defense establishment" that no one needs but is also not associated with highly scientific global projects. Thus, the most promising here (not in the sense that it is remote, but, to the contrary, that it is realistic and guaranteed to be profitable) is believed to be the creation of gas heat generators—aggregates for the decentralized heating of homes. The concept of a centralized heat supply, which was cultivated everywhere as a logical continuation of the system of centralized distribution, in the end discredited itself, and only the relatively mild winters of recent years saved us from considerable unpleasantness. The producers of autonomous heat generators were faced with a market that was not spoiled by much choice. Until now, the Soviet units that were produced could not satisfy the market and were bought up quickly, although they did not withstand any serious criticism about their performance. Those that are being produced here can compete with the best of Western models: The absence of rotating parts—a guarantee of durability—an original thermodynamic scheme that assures full combustion and, consequently, good ecological indices, and an unprecedented efficiency factor—up to 95 percent—more than modest in size (the generator, which is capable of providing heat to the whole entrance of a five-story house, is shoulder high and a little wider than the average man)—all of this indicates that this instrument was created by a class of specialists much higher than those who were engaged in this kind of development earlier. This in itself, undoubtedly, is fine, and there is no need in today's situation to weigh how reasonable it is to utilize such unique specialists in this way—in any case, of the hundreds of scientific collectives living with outstretched hands on a hunger ration there is now one less. Moreover, the scientists themselves do not consider themselves to be wasting their skills.

"No less complex and interesting technical tasks have to be resolved than was the case previously," says the director of NITTP-FOR, Gennadiy Yevseyev. "We are professionals, and therefore we are guided in our evaluation by criteria other than the momentary prestige of a subject, and, after all, if we are to speak frankly, what is prestigious in military space developments—which in contrast to our generators do not warm anyone—what is important is the approach and the level of technology that is utilized. Moreover, we do not intend to work on heating equipment all our life, and, I assure you, there are many areas where our experience will be useful. A unit for extinguishing fires at oil and gas wells with supersonic streams is slowly taking on a metal form. There also are other ideas: Our lasers will not be transformed into museum exhibits, but it is better not to talk about this now—you yourself understand, a commercial secret."

Thus, the institute, never suffering from a shortage of all kinds of secrets, will remain a restricted zone as before—as previously, the perimeter will be "swept" by television cameras, the monitor will not be removed from the telephone, and the first department will not be cut. But if all of this complex administration protects not war but commerce, what is so bad about this?

Comparison of Russian Federation Treaty Text

CM1903133992

Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian on 18 March 1992 carries in its First Edition on page 2 under the "Official Section" rubric the Russian Federation Treaty. Comparison of this item with the Moscow TASS Russian version, headlined "'Text' of Russian Federal Treaty Issued" published in the 16 March Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT on page 67 reveals the following variations:

page 70, column one, third paragraph reads: Agreed and initialed by the following full representatives:

R.I. Khasbulatov for the Russian Federation;
A.A. Dzharimov for the Adyge SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic];
M.G. Rakhimov for the Republic of Bashkortostan;
L.V. Potapov for the Buryat SSR;
V.I. Chaptynov for the Republic of Gornyy Altay;
M.M. Magomedov for the Republic of Dagestan;
Kh.M. Karmokov for the Kabardino-Balkar Republic;
V.M. Basanov and B.Ch. Mikhaylov for the Republic of Kalmykia-Khalm Tangch;
V.I. Khubiyev and V.N. Savelyev for the Republic of Karachayevo-Cherkessia;
V.N. Stepanov for the Republic of Karelia;
Yu.A. Spiridonov for the Komi SSR;
V.M. Zotin and Yu.A. Minakov for the Republic of Mariy-El;
N.V. Biryukov and V.D. Guslyannikov for the Mordovian SSR;
A.Kh. Galazov for the North Ossetian SSR;
N.Ye. Nikolayev, K.Ye. Ivanov, and Z.A. Kornilova for the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia);
for the republic of Tatarstan [no name given as published];
A. Bicheldey for the Republic of Tuva;
Yu.F. Kedrov and N.Ye. Mironov for the Udmurt Republic;
V.N. Shtygashev and Ye.A. Smirnov for the Republic of Khakassia;
E.A. Kubarev and V.N. Viktorov for the Chuvash Republic;
for the Republic of Checheno-Ingushetia [no name given as published]. ... (providing expansion of final paragraph).

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov Urges Adoption of Constitution

LD1903113192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today's session of the Russian Supreme Soviet began with a statement by parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov on the course of work on the draft of the new constitution and the draft law in accordance with which amendments will be made to the present Fundamental Law of the Russian Federation. This will make it possible to remove many contradictions in the economic and social spheres. Khasbulatov said, in particular, that the Constitutional Commission has received many amendments and comments from various factions and individual deputies. There is a desire to adopt the draft at a first reading at the forthcoming Sixth Congress of People's Deputies of Russia. Replying to questions from deputies, the speaker stated:

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] I think the wisest thing to do would be not, under any circumstances, to reject adoption of the constitution as a basis at the congress, but to show that we are a democratic force and that the congress and supreme soviet are a more radical force in this sense than any government officials. So, in this way, we will be adopting and approving a very serious and democratic constitution at a first reading, working on and fully perfecting the existing constitution, and strengthening the government as the institution of administration. [end recording]

Today, the Russian parliament will continue debating the law on the transformation of the Checheno-Ingush Republic within the Russian Federation. Parliamentarians will also debate matters relating to the situation in Tatarstan.

Designed To Counterbalance Executive

LD1903111792 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 19 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—The draft of a new Russian constitution, which is to be submitted to the approval of the Congress of Russian People's Deputies in April, is "optimal" and should be adopted under the first reading, according to Russian Parliamentary Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov.

However, the parliament is also working on amendments to the acting Russian constitution in case the congress decides to change the old fundamental law rather than to adopt a new one, he told the Russian Parliament on Thursday [19 March].

The fourth chapter of the draft is the most important as it divides the powers among the central authorities and the republics and territories inside Russia, according to Khasbulatov. All proposals of deputies, experts and various parliamentary groups were taken into consideration while drafting the chapter, the main provisions of which were initialled in the federative treaty by representatives of Russian republics, territories and regions. "We tried to use everything positive from the acting constitution and many of its chapters were included in the draft", Khasbulatov said.

The new draft "strengthens the legislative authority", "strong instruments were designed to counterbalance the executive power", Khasbulatov said.

He welcomed the decision of the constitutional commission which finally arrived to a consensus and dropped other alternative drafts of the new constitution.

Shokhin on 'Vital' Social Protection Program

LD1803192292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1212 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow, 18 March (TASS)—The Russian Government considers it necessary, beginning in the second quarter, to phase in through the various regions a new minimum wage level of 750 rubles [R]. This was stated today by Deputy Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, speaking at a session of the Russian parliament. He believes that in the months to come prices will be going up and "therefore it is vital to work out additional measures for the social protection of the population."

According to Shokhin, henceforth there will be a periodic review of wage scales and salaries of those people employed in the health service, education, science, and other branches of the non- production sphere who are payrolled from the budget, in accordance with the dynamics of wage increases in material production and the processes of inflation. At the same time, wages should not fall behind prices increases by more than 30-40 percent, he stressed.

The establishment of additional payments to the sum of R150 a month for each child in the family is envisaged as from April. Compensation payments for pupils' and students' grants, additional payments for food, and compensation for the increased cost of baby food are being introduced.

The government intends to introduce ahead of schedule the law on state pensions in full measure from 1 May instead of 1 July 1992. The minimum pension figure is due to be fixed at the level of R650 a month, the deputy premier noted.

The number of registered people out of work in the period from July 1991 to February 1992 quadrupled and approached 70,000, Aleksandr Shokhin went on. The number of people receiving unemployment benefits in January 1992 rose from 12,000 to 18,000. The deputy premier did not rule out a deterioration of the situation in the next few months in a number of regions.

Members Critical of Measures

OW1903041792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian MPs [members of parliament] were dissatisfied with Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin's report on the government-proposed additional social protection measures. They argued that the picture of the price rise, presented by Shokhin, did not reflect the real situation.

The report says that in February, the index of consumer prices rose by 38 per cent against the January level (the price index on food - by 17 per cent and on industrial goods - by 44 per cent).

As the implementation of the employment law was discussed, representatives of the extreme right and left wings demanded the resignation of the government. Deputy Vyacheslav Lyubimov representing the Communists of Russia faction, said that 90 per cent of the government must resign even before the congress. Deputies Yuri Sidorenko, Mikhail Chelnokov and Yevgeniy Tarasov, representing the Radical Democrats faction, stated that everything the government said was all lies and deceit, and insisted that it resign as it had driven the nation to poverty. SOURCE: Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92

Court Chairman Zorkin on Tatarstan Referendum

LD1803225592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1835 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Address by Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court at the morning Russian Supreme Soviet session held in Moscow on 18 March—recorded; from the "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Session" program]

[Text] In accordance with Article 55 on the Law on the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, I submit the following concept for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation: The concept for the Constitutional Court in connection with a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tatarstan clarifying the formulation of the question put forward at the referendum of the Republic of Tatarstan planned for 21 March 1992. At the request of the Russian Supreme Soviet and a group of people's deputies the Constitutional Court examined on 12 and 13 March of this year a case of the constitutional force of the following legislative acts of the Republic of Tatarstan: The declaration of state sovereignty issued on 30 August 1990, the law on amendmends and additions to the fundamental law of the Republic of Tatarstan issued on 18 April 1991, the law on a referendum in the Republic of Tatarstan issued on 29 November 1991 and the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tatarstan on holding the referendum in the Republic of Tatarstan on the issue of a state status of the Republic of Tatarstan issued on 21 February 1992.

In accordance with the RSFSR Constitution and taking into account the universally recognized international legal norms of peoples' self-determination and human rights, and the legislation of the Republic of Tatarstan itself, the Constitutional Court arrived at the conclusion that the statutes of the second part of the fifth and sixth Articles of the declaration of Tatarstan's state sovereignty, which restrict the effect of federal law on the territory of the republic, do not conform to the RSFSR Constitution. The statute saying that the republic's relations with the Russian Federation are built on a contractual basis alone, which is contained in Article 4 of Tatarstan's law on amendments and additions to the fundamental law of the Republic of Tatarstan was also recognized as not having any constitutional force. This statute practically excludes any constitutional and legal basis for the settling of relations between the republic and the federation as a whole. It is connected with the unilateral change of the country's national and state structure, and implies that the Republic of Tatarstan is not a part of the Russian Federation.

The Constitutional Court also recognized the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tatarstan on holding a referendum on the question of the republic's state status on 21 March of this year as not having any constitutional force due to that part of the formulation of the question which suggests that the republic is a subject of international law, and that it builds its relations with the Russian Federation and other republics and states on the basis of treaties enjoying equal rights. This part is connected with the violation of the principles of organizing national and territorial unity and implies that Tatarstan is not a part of the Russian Federation.

The Constitutional Court states the fact that the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tatarstan has virtually ignored a decision of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the supreme judicial body in charge of the protection of the constitutional structure of the Russian Federation and the constitutional supervision in the Russian Federation. It also adopts decisions obligatory for everyone which as soon as they come into force make all statutes of acts, recognized as not conforming to the federal constitution, null and void. The decision clarifying the formulation of the question of the referendum, planned for 21 March 1992, in the Republic of Tatarstan adopted by Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet on 16 March of this year testifies to the fact that the republican official forces confirm their policy on holding the referendum, the formulation of which contains a threat to the national and territorial unity of the Russian Federation. It also creates the outward appearance of a legal basis for Tatarstan's secession from the composition of the federation.

In particular, in the decision, as is said in the preamble, confirming the declaration on the state sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan and in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan, it is explained that the confirmation of the declaration on the state sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan is the aim of the referendum. That is to say, in other words, a confirmation of Section 2 of Article 5 and Article 6 of the declaration.

Meanwhile, the act in question, in breach of the Federal Constitution, establishes the supremacy of the laws of the Republic of Tatarstan on the republic's territory and envisages that, until the adoption of a new constitution and legislation of the Republic of Tatarstan, the acts of the Russian Federation continue to be in force on its territory only to the extent that they do not run counter to the above-mentioned declaration. In this way it was confirmed once again that federal legislation is not in force in the Republic of Tatarstan and this destroys the federation's constitutional law base and is capable of bringing in its train a breach of the fundamental interests of the multinational people of the Republic of Tatarstan, of basic human and citizen's rights and freedoms.

In this connection one should take into account that Article 2 of the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tatarstan, dated 16 March of this year, in accordance with which questions of the state separation [obosobleniya] of the Republic of Tatarstan from the Russian Federation, the change of its territorial integrity and borders, are not the object of the referendum being held. This does not mean that the Republic of Tatarstan remains, irrespective of the results of the referendum, a subject of the Russian Federation, inasmuch as the word separation in the present condition has a very broad meaning. The Republic of Ukraine is not separated in some respect from the Russian Federation, but it is an independent state with all consequences flowing from that.

Drawing your attention to the afore-mentioned breaches of the Constitution and legislation of the Russian Federation, the Constitutional Court, in accordance with the requirements of Articles 8 and 55 of the RSFSR Law on the Constitutional Court of the RSFSR, deems necessary the adoption of immediate constructive measures to defend the constitutional system of the Russian Federation, its territorial integrity and national unity.

In accordance with the Russian Federation Law on the Constitutional Court, I request that you examine the resolution in question. In addition, on the instructions of the Constitutional Court I would like to add the following.

In the official statements by the leaders of the Republic of Tatarstan, and by the chairman of the Republic of Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet in particular, there have been repeated mentions that the leaders of the republic did not receive the application from the Constitutional Court until 6 March this year. I must emphasize quite resolutely that this is not in accordance with reality, and that in accordance with the deadlines provided for, a copy of the application from a group of people's deputies was handed to Comrade Mukhamedshin [chairman of Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet] here, in Moscow, on 3 March this year. After this, another application came, which clarified and expanded the range of questions raised in the application. That is what in fact happened. What was most important in this application was the substance concerning the referendum in the Republic of Tatarstan. In its presentation to the Constitutional Court, the republic's leadership demands that the examination of the case be postponed, since they would not be able to prepare in time. A natural and legitimate question arises for me: If 10 days was too little for them to prepare for the issue that is to be put to a referendum, then how did this issue come to be the subject of a referendum? That is, they were prepared for it in neither theoretical nor practical terms.

A second point, and I ask for this to be checked officially at the session of the Supreme Soviet: At a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tatarstan, the republic's leadership stated that they did not have the official text of the decision of the Constitutional Court. I maintain that as early as 14 March, that is, immediately after the Constitutional Court adopted its decision, this decision was transmitted by the official fax of the chairman of the Constitutional Court to the deputy prime minister of Tatarstan, who was here in Moscow. The fax was received and given to Comrade Mukhamedshin, who received it on the morning of the 15th. The text was officially published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, the official organ of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, on the morning of the 15th. In connection with this, I evaluate the statement by the republic's leaders as nothing other than an attempt to mislead the people's deputies of the Republic of Tatarstan.

The next point: On the evaluation of this decision by the leading figures of the Republic of Tatarstan. Yesterday, in a television link-up, we had the opportunity to see the official leadership of the Republic of Tatarstan calling the decision of the Constitutional Court the fruit of a kangaroo court.

Esteemed people's deputies, I think that if this official definition is made in the country and is addressed to the Constitutional Court, which did not give any grounds for such conclusions—to the Court which recognized a number of cardinal acts of the Republic of Tatarstan, including the articles of a declaration and a Constitution directed at achieving the sovereignty of this republic—then I believe that we are not just in a state of crisis; we are on the brink of a precipice. Why? Because nonrecognition of the court means that its strength and its rights are undermined and the legal foundations for settling disputes are not recognized. From there on, bands of pirates start to act.

In this connection I would like to address both the leaders of the Republic of Tatarstan and the people's deputies. The people who said these words run a risk of reaping exactly the same situation in their own backyard tomorrow. If they do not respect the court, then they should not count on their own court being respected. The anarchy which may follow endangers not just the integrity of the Russian Federation, but will lash Tatarstan itself with a wave of blood, if might and right are divorced. The people of Tatarstan should weigh the consequences of the referendum on which the leaders of Tatarstan insist. What will transpire after the referendum? I am prepared to believe in the sincerity of the present leaders of the Republic of Tatarstan who say that they do not pose a question of separating the Republic of Tatarstan from the Russian Federation.

But, esteemed people's deputies, at the same time I would like, most insistently, to draw your attention to this: From the legal viewpoint—and this will be confirmed to you by all the experts including those at the level of international law—the wording for which the people of Tatarstan will be voting means that it sets up a legal basis for the secession of the Republic of Tatarstan from the Russian Federation. This means that if tomorrow comrades Mukhamedshin and Shaymiyev are replaced by other leaders who say that the people voted and we are seceding, then I can assure you that they will be right from a legal point of view, and no one will dare to contradict them. It is not a question of a formal secession or nonsecession. It is a situation which could exceed by 100 times that in Yugoslavia and all the other civil war flashpoints. I appeal to the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan, I appeal to you, people's deputies, take all necessary steps, for we are on the brink of a precipice.

For my part, and on behalf of the Constitutional Court I assure you that the Constitutional Court is guarding the Constitution and the law. This means that if it is true that the rights of the republic within the Russian Federation have been violated, no one should doubt that we will defend these rights against the central power. But if a republic unilaterally takes steps to destroy the constitutional regime, all the measures helping to preserve the state should be taken, especially when a positive step has been made toward signing the federative treaty for transforming the Russian Federation on new principles.

In this connection the Constitutional Court states that it is ready to act constructively and jointly with other authorities to settle the present situation. Now is not the time for reproaches, although the Constitutional Court, as you have already heard, in the submissions that we made immediately after the proclamation of the decision, drew the attention of the Supreme Soviet and the president of the Russian Federation to the fact that neither of them had acted to perform the direct constitutional duties with which they are charged in order to ensure the territorial and national integrity of the Russian Federation.

I repeat once again this is not the time to settle scores. We need to act in a coordinated and constructive manner, for if we do not do so, beyond lies the abyss.

Presidium Session 16 Mar Reported

PM1903100392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Session of Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A scheduled session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium took place 16 March in Russia's House of Soviets. R. Khasbulatov and S. Filatov conducted the session.

The "Treaty on Principles of Interstate Relations Between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova" was scrutinized. A working group of deputies was formed to study problems associated with its submission for ratification by the Russian Supreme Soviet, while the government was charged with preparing a series of bilateral agreements whose signing should be tied to the ratification process.

The presidium discussed a draft of the fifth chapter of the Russian Federation Constitution which came from the "Smena (New Policy)" faction, as well as an independent [initsiativnyy] draft RSFSR Constitution which a group of deputies had prepared. It was decided to send the deputies' drafts to the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, and the Russian Federation Constitutional Commission.

A resolution "On the Limit of the Russian Federation's Foreign Debt and Certain Questions About Banking Services for Foreign Economic Activity" was adopted, in which the government is in particular charged with submitting to the Supreme Soviet proposals on the limit of the debt for 1992, while the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity is entrusted with the functions of the Russian Federation's agent for supplying banking services for the Russian Federation's centralized foreign economic operations, including credits and guarantees.

There took place the presentation of draft legislative acts which it is proposed to submit for Supreme Soviet discussion after their examination by committees and commissions. They include the draft laws "On the Russian Federation's Monetary System" and "On Introducing Amendments and Addenda to the RSFSR Law 'On the Election of People's Deputies to Local Soviets, and of RSFSR People's Deputies'," and the Supreme Soviet draft resolutions "On the Joint Official Use of the Flags of the Russian Federation's Republics" and "On Measures To Ensure Deliveries of Produce (Goods) to Regions of the Far North and Comparable Localities."

Questions of the Russian Federation's military policy were also discussed at the session.

In order to develop contacts with the Russian diaspora, a Commission on Questions of the Russian Diaspora was formed under the Supreme Soviet Presidium, with M. Tolstoy being confirmed as its chairman.

Taking into consideration the importance of the traditional relations which have developed between the Russian Federation and Mongolia, the Presidium recognized the advisability of creating the "Russia-Mongolia" parliamentary association.

Other questions of the Russian Federation's state activities were also scrutinized.

Dnestr Conflict Discussed

LD1703150692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] One of the main issues discussed by the Russian Supreme Soviet today was relations with Moldova. Eighteen months have passed since the treaty on the principles of interstate relations between Russia and Moldova was signed but it has not yet been ratified. It was announced at the Presidium that both sides are keen on ratifying it; at present, however, while conflict is developing in the Dnestr region, a whole range of issues arises which need to be resolved, in the view of Presidium members. The Dnestr problem is one of them.

Members of the Presidium believe that it is necessary to speed up preparations for ratification. A resolution was adopted to address the Presidium of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova with a proposal to set up an interparliamentary group to deal with this matter. In the Russian Presidium's view, the treaty should be accompanied by a package of intergovernment accords on the issues of citizenship, human rights, migration, property and others.

Social Policy, Federal Issues Discussed

LD1903111692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] It was an eventful day at the Russian Supreme Soviet. Let me begin by saying that the issue of additional measures for the social protection of the population during the transition to a market economy was examined. All documents coming to the parliament were signed by Deputy Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, and it was he who reported to deputies on the government's proposals.

Mikhail Zakharov, chairman of a Supreme Soviet commission, who then gave a report on the same subject, sharply criticized the government's social policy, and called the additional measures a sop for the people. He also raised the issue of confidence in the government.

From then on, this issue was debated, despite the session's decision to set the matter aside. Further work will be done on it, and a special decision will be drafted. The government probably had a harder time than ever before.

Meanwhile, a conference of chairmen of oblast and kray soviets of people's deputies was held in the presidium's hall on preparing and initialing the agreement on the division of administrative responsibilities and powers between the Russian Federation's federal bodies of state power and the authorities of the krays and oblasts of Russia, and of the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. We know that the Federation Treaty has been initialed by the republics within the Russian Federation, now we are talking about a similar document concerning the oblasts and krays. I have learned that the agreement has now virtually been initialed. The Belgorod, Krasnodar, and Kamchatskiy leaders did not attend the meeting. Irkutsk has stated that it still wants to think about it. Nonetheless, we can already say that very important work has been done.

Finally, an hour ago, Viktor Zhigulin, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Republic, held a news conference on the results of the talks between groups of experts of the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic. I now have in my hand a final protocol on the results of this meeting. The Russian-Chechen group of experts which carried out a preliminary study of the documents planned for discussion by official, authorized delegations of the republics, have adopted the following recommendations for that meeting: Talks will be held in Sochi between official delegations of the two sides, provisionally during the last 10 days of April 1992.

The experts of both sides proposed that the agenda of the forthcoming talks between the delegations of the Russian Federation and Chechen Republic should include political, legal, economic, and collective security issues. The most important are the political issues, while all the others will be settled, as they say, as work proceeds. The political issues concern recognition of the political independence and state sovereignty of the Chechen Republic, and the establishment of the political and legal relationship between the Chechen Republic and the Russian Federation.

The news conference was also called because a number of publications have carried incorrect information about the results of this meeting. For example, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA published an allegation that the issue of recognition of the state sovereignty of the Chechen Republic is being submitted to the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation. Viktor Zhigulin said that the question of submitting the issue of the recognition of the Chechen Republic's state sovereignty to the Russian Congress of People's Deputies was not raised at the talks.

There was one other very important point which Viktor Zhigulin stressed during this news conference: No matters which in some way affect the interests of the Ingush people can be settled without the latter's participation, therefore they were not settled. Otherwise, this would have been interpreted the wrong way. That is all the news I have so far from the Russian Supreme Soviet. I end my report there.

Chechen-Ingush Republic Transformation Cited

LD1903113892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 0933 GMT 19 Mar 92

[From the POSTFACTUM "Daily News" section]

[Text] Moscow—On March 18th RF [Russian Federation] Supreme Soviet examined in a closed session a RF bill on transformation of Chechen-Ingush Republic within the framework of Russian Federation. The bill tabled by RF President Boris Yeltsin, provides for the formation of Ingush and Chechen republics within RF with the solution of the disputed issues linked up with the formation of Ingush Republic within three years. Sergey Shakhray, vice premier, RF state legal counsellor, who presented the bill, read to the deputies a historical report, taking note, inter alia, of the fact that Prigorodnyy District, currently forming a part of Northern Ossetia, prior to 1944 belonged to Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic. The main problem of forming Ingush Republic is the demand of the Ingush for the return of Prigorodnyy District to them. In the course of the parliamentary session, the chairman of the committee of the House of Nationalities of RF Supreme Soviet on the ethnic groups which have fallen victims to reprisals and deportations Anatoliy Anikiyev presented an alternative bill on behalf of the committee, that is different from the presidential one because of a clause on the formation of Ingush Republic taking it out of Chechen-Ingush Republic. The bill also proposes to take into consideration the historical interests of the Cossacks in the presidential bill—just the interests of the Cossacks which, in the opinion of certain RF people's deputies, enables one to give it too broad an interpretation. Anikiyev pointed out that procrastination with the solution of the issue of Prigorodnyy District might provoke a war between Ingushetia and Northern Ossetia involving the Cossacks, Russia and Georgia. Anatoliy Anikiyev stated that the problems of border demarcation must be solved simultaneously with the passing of the law. As a most suitable version, Anikiyev proposed that a law on transforming Chechen-Ingush Republic within the framework of RF be adopted in the first reading to set up a state committee whose representatives should be sent to Ingushetia and Northern Ossetia immediately to jointly with the state committee form a conciliatory committee from among the local residents to provide for a possibility of territorial compensations, broader self-government for the Cossacks, presidential rule over certain disputable regions to complete, taking into account the previous work done, the bill in question and to pass it as a whole. Anikiyev thought that the establishment of a transition period for the solution of the territorial problems to be the most difficult version of the solution of the problem: it might provoke a forceful solution. RF Supreme Soviet, having heard both reports, resolved to continue the discussion of the bill on transforming Chechen-Ingush Republic within the framework of RF on March 19th.

Filatov Sees Supreme Soviet Growing Weaker

924C0904A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 p 2

[Interview with S.A. Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, by Aleksey Zuychenko; place and date not given: "The Deputy 'Swamp' Is Expanding: Sergey Filatov, First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Parliament, Talks About the Pre-Congress Situation in the Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] [Zuychenko] Sergey Aleksandrovich, as I see it, the situation in the parliament has recently begun to change quite abruptly, and so far the change has not been for the better. To date, this has not exerted a strong influence on the decisions adopted. However, we are making a quite definite judgment based on the array of forces present in the course of votes and the overall attitudes....

[Filatov] This is true. Also, this is one of the aspects which causes the greatest concern—this kind of "attrition" of the most active democratic forces in the corps of deputies. Of course, this "attrition" does not consign them to oblivion: They are siphoned away into the executive power structures. I do not want to say that this is very bad or unnecessary, but the parliament is growing weaker before our very eyes. After all, the work of the Supreme Soviet consists of two main stages—the development of documents and their adoption. Ultimately, everything hinges on the voting...

I have serious apprehensions that as the situation in the country deteriorates, the situation in the parliament will also deteriorate sharply. We may end up with absolutely conservative and even reactionary decisions, which happen to be adopted even now, however seldom.

If you would recall, there were situations at the Second and Third Congresses when the opposing sides collided head on, and the democrats won with literally a few votes to spare. At present, these few votes may not be there. All of this greatly concerns me.

[Zuychenko] Do you think that, along with such purely quantitative changes, some kind of qualitative changes are underway in the parliament, and that the political views of quite a number of deputies have undergone striking transformations?

[Filatov] This is also true. Of course, what I have mentioned is not the only reason for changes in the Supreme Soviet. Incidentally, here is one of the most significant reasons. As long ago as before the last congress we introduced the rule "one deputy-one faction." Until that time, deputies could simultaneously belong to three or four factions. In its time, Democratic Russia was the most powerful group. After this rule was introduced, the democrats "scattered" to various factions, and Democratic Russia turned into a bloc of factions. Discipline has never been the strong suit of the Democrats, and it is even less so at present. Therefore, the creation of new groups and factions, which is a natural process, did not benefit us; it promoted disintegration. On certain issues, we are pulling further away from one another, all the more so because everything is accomplished at the conferences of leaders rather than at the meetings of a bloc or even groups. In this mode, personality traits and relationships among the leaders play a major role. In short, the democrats are quite weak now from the organizational point of view.

There is no argument: This was to be expected; the development of even more differences among the democrats was unavoidable after the defeat of communism. This is very easily seen at present....

As far as some individual groups are concerned... It appears that Smena was the first one to leave Democratic Russia. For quite a long time, Smena has held completely independent positions which, in all honesty, I do not quite understand. Outwardly, these positions are quite principled and logical. However, to my mind, they represent a destructive force. It seems to me that they are driven by some political agenda of their own and, mainly, by ambitions.

Radical Democrats are beginning to separate more and more. At present, they consider "the absolute primacy of the rule of law over expediency" to be their main slogan—as if someone were against it. Ultimately, this is not what the dispute is about. It is just that our legislation is full of holes, and the issue is what to plug these holes with. It appears that the way in which they are trying to accomplish it does not necessarily have anything to do with the law.

In all honesty, this is largely about the personality of the leader of this faction which has been the focus of debate all along. It appears that this debate is now beginning to become aggravated...

[Zuychenko] It looks like all second- or third-rate issues are reclassified as the most significant ones before the congress....

[Filatov] Of course. Each group will come to the congress with its own agenda, sometimes a very limited one, and will try to impress on everybody that these are precisely the most important points. Many will try to resolve at the congress what they have failed to resolve in the Supreme Soviet. We should expect the congress to be very contentious. There is virtually no issue to be resolved in which we could count on consensus.

For example, the issue of the CIS. Have you seen what has been going on in the parliament in this regard lately?

[Zuychenko] They came close to restoring the USSR.

[Filatov] We should expect a stormy discussion on the Crimea and the armed forces. What about our internal structure? So far, the opponents of the new Constitution have exploited differences on this issue quite successfully in attempts to torpedo the entire draft. I can imagine what is going to happen in the course of discussing the progress of economic reform and its philosophy.

With a view to making the going at the congress easier, we resolved to have a preliminary discussion of all the issues on its agenda at a session.

It will be very difficult to bring together even the so-called democratic factions. The communists are beginning to step up their activity. They still call themselves Communists of Russia, but this is a completely different faction, or more precisely, a different party. It appears to me that a split occurred in the leadership of Rossiya, which quite recently was our main opponent. At any rate, they are no longer the organized force they once were. However, the extreme right from Rossiya—Baburin and Pavlov—sided with the extreme right from among the democrats—Astafyev, Aksyuchits, and Konstantinov.

[Zuychenko] When I told you that deputies have changed their views, I meant primarily the latter.

[Filatov] They have set up their own party. This means a lot. As far as Aksyuchits, whom I have known for a long time, is concerned, I cannot say that his views have changed. It is just that we travelled together at first, but our ways have now parted. Perhaps Konstantinov and Astafyev have changed more.

This so-called "patriotic bloc" will be quite strong at the congress.

Rutskoy's party is also becoming more active. Smena is making very formidable preparations for the congress, perhaps in the most qualified manner, using experts.

As far as Democratic Russia is concerned, it is now beginning to pool the forces that scattered to various structures. That faction will not prepare its own documents but it will participate vigorously in preparing the drafts of the Supreme Soviet.

[Zuychenko] Is that to say that a weakened Democratic Russia is acting in this case as a ruling party?

[Filatov] Well, you might put it like that. However, I only wanted to say that it makes sense to refer to a certain regrouping of forces which is now underway. We are losing some of our old allies but acquiring new ones. This is important.

[Zuychenko] One of the accusations leveled at the parliament is that the Supreme Soviet has come under outside control...

[Filatov] This is true to a degree—but not from the outside. However, it is natural. The deputies are excessively burdened by routine work, and just do not have time to work on draft laws in a regular manner. We deprived them of an opportunity to have aides. It so happens that the deputies come to the session unprepared. On occasion they do not even manage to read draft laws on which they vote. What do they do in this case? They look for bearings. Apart from Smena, we do not have well-organized groups which would work on each draft law and advise the members of the group in advance what tactic they should adhere to. What do the rest of the deputies do? Some listen and try to grasp it; others take their cue from their neighbors. However, most take their cue from the chairman, all the more so because those who speak at the microphones do not necessarily enjoy authority. However, we must say that this is the case mostly with economic issues. Everything changes when a political issue is under discussion. Everybody has his own point of view in the matter.

[Zuychenko] Sure, such as in the cases of athletics and health care... Sergey Aleksandrovich, do you get the impression that the same thing that happened to the Union parliament is happening, gradually and to a degree, to the Russian parliament? The political situation evolves at a far greater pace than the course of the constitutionally mandated term of office. Today, we happened to hear the following pronouncement, and not for the first time either: "What is Baburin? He does not represent anybody! At the time, there was one array of forces in Omsk, and now there is another. Those who voted for him will not do it again!"

[Filatov] I agree. This is one of the reasons why I favor the new Constitution so strongly. We need to make the parliament replaceable, but not like this: Five years pass, and we throw them all out. We need regular continuity and an influx of additional forces. The principle of renewing one-third through elections is built into the Constitution. This is particularly important at a time of the kind of political instability we have, at a time when events are developing so rapidly. The deputy corps should reflect the grassroots state of mind.

I, for one, am happy that I have never deviated from my program. However, on occasion I think: Could it be that my voters have long wanted a return to the old ways while I continue to defend what I came out with before? However, only an election can tell.

[Zuychenko] Do you think that the array of forces you have described is in line with what is happening in the country?

[Filatov] It appears that it is, if public opinion polls and our own experience are to be believed. However, everything is in a state of flux. Please recall that when we ratified the CIS agreement and Boris Nikolayevich made his report, only six people were against. When we voted recently on including on the congress agenda an item calling all of these agreements into question, 24 percent were in favor. This is an oscillation process of sorts.

This has always been the case. There has always been a segment which determines its position at the very last moment under the influence of some external circumstances. This segment may be larger or smaller in individual cases. There is always a struggle for this segment. The results hinge precisely on the outcome of this struggle. At the first congress, these people numbered about 250. According to our calculations, the number dropped to 60 on one occasion.

[Zuychenko] So, is the "swamp" expanding now?

[Filatov] It is. However, it is inappropriate for me as the first deputy of the chairman of the parliament to refer to it in such terms.

Regional Affairs

Sobchak Calls For End to Economic Reforms

LD1803201492 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] After the prices for energy-carriers are freed, the economy will stop. This is what Anatoliy Sobchak, St. Petersburg's mayor said at a news conference today. In order to prevent this, the Mayor believes, the government's actions aimed at implementing economic reforms should be stopped. Sobchak described these actions as sheer adventurism. According to him, the IMF requirements incorporated in reforms cannot be fulfilled in our country as it does not have the infrastructure of a market economy.

Predicts Government's Fall

OW1803203392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The deregulation of fuel prices is "heart failure and death" for the country, but since nations don't die, the government will", St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak said in a news conference.

Sobchak called Yegor Gaydar's approach to economic reform "adventuristic". He also said that the lack of a serious legal base is the main obstacle in attracting foreign partners.

However, the St. Petersburg mayor does not believe that the situation is hopeless. He said the first stage of reforms proved that "the people are ready to tolerate much more than we thought." They showed the ability to survive under new conditions, he said.

Sobchak said that now "we must stop and analyze the results of the first stage and understand that realizing privatization and land reform will take time".

"The main shortcoming today is the isolation of the government's macroeconomic policy from the real economy".

Chechen Official Denies Exile Government Report

LD1803115992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Report by announcer Andrey Pishchayev]

[Text] Yesterday we cited a CHECHENPRES report that (?Doku) Zavgayev, former first secretary of the Chechen-Ingush CPSU oblast committee, had formed an alternative government of Checheno-Ingushetiya in Moscow. We have learned that Zavgayev denies this.

Ingush Air Grievances, Seek Public Attention

PM1603101192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 92 p 3

[Major S. Knyazkov "Direct Line" report: "Ingush Present Ultimatum to Russia's President—But Will This Help Solve the Problem?"]

[Text] Moscow—In April 1992 a year will have elapsed since the adoption of the former USSR's Law on the Rehabilitation of Peoples Subjected to Repressions, but it is impossible for the time being to speak of all existing problems having been resolved. A graphic example of this is the fate of the Ingush people. Forcibly deported from their ancestral lands to Kazakhstan in 1944, the Ingush have, to this day, been unable to return home, to the graves of their ancestors which are, in their majority, located in what is now North Ossetia's Prigorodnyy Rayon.

With a view to attracting public attention to their crucial problems, a number of prominent Ingush public figures gave a news conference at the "Rossiya" hotel.

It was emphasized that the Ingush intend to seek a return of their ancestral lands and the restoration of their statehood on these lands by peaceful means. It is not a question of wanting to impinge on the interests of other peoples living on the territory of Prigorodnyy Rayon. The Ingush reject the other way proposed by [Chechen leader] D. Dudayev in the event of association with the Chechen Republic. It was stated, however, that the patience of the humiliated people is not limitless. An ultimatum has been presented to President B. Yeltsin:

Unless the issue is resolved at the Sixth Congress of Russia's People's Deputies, the Ingush will resolve it for themselves.

It would be possible to regard this matter as closed but for the tone adopted by the Ingush public figures at the meeting with journalists. As in the old times, they tried to use the language of diktat and to hector journalists. But if acute territorial problems are treated in this way, rejecting present-day realities, will this not lead to new Karabakhs?

Dagestan Rally Protests Inaction on Murder

LD1803134192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] O. Mamedova reports that in Makhachkala a rally has been held against the inaction of leaders of the law enforcement bodies in the face of terrorism. More than 40 terrorist acts have been carried out in the republic. The people are shaken by the murder of co-chairman of the parliamentary faction Democratic Dagestan, chief doctor of the republic's diagnostic center, Magomed Suleymanov.

Although a reward of a million rubles is promised for solving the crime, and additional funds allocated by the republic's government to the law enforcement bodies, the murderer has not been found.

At the meeting, the head of the Ministry of Security of Dagestan, (Viktor Fedorovich Mashko) could report nothing new. The chairman of the non-government committee for observance of legality said if things do not get better in April there will be another wave of action. [Video shows rally with placard reading, in Russian: "We demand the resignation of the leadership of the republic which cannot find the murderers of Deputy Suleymanov," and another: "Parliamentarians, kill the slave in yourself!"]

Prospects Dim for Autonomous German Republic

924C0901A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Feb 92 p 3

[Article by Anna Krayzel: "Apparently, There Will Not Be a German Republic in Russia. This Will Be Definitively Clarified on 20 March at a Congress of 'Soviet' Germans"]

[Text] **Ethnicity**

In a conversation about the possibility of setting up an autonomous German republic in the Volga area during the Congress of Civic and Patriotic Forces of Russia in February, Nikolay Pavlov, people's deputy of the Russian Federation, asked what seemed to him a logical question: "Is there a Russian republic in Germany?" He answered himself: "When there is one in Germany, there will also be a German republic in Russia. Show your attitude toward the Russians, of whom you have many, create an autonomous entity for them, set up a national university, radio, and television for them, and then we will reciprocate." Other patriots, for example Nikolay Lysenko, chairman of the National-Republican Party of Russia, believe that the issue of a German autonomous entity should merely be temporarily postponed, though at the same time he does count "on substantial German programs"—economic programs, that is.

By now, these two positions—negating the German autonomous entity, or postponing a decision concerning it until later—no longer appear acceptable to a majority of Russian Germans. Doctor Genrikh Grout, chairman of "Revival," the largest and most radical organization of Russian Germans (120,000 members in 250 regional groups), who has just returned from a congress of the Union of Exiles in Germany, believes: "Apparently, the Germans of the former USSR have no future in Russia. I believe that this issue has already been closed." At present, the Germans are solving their problems by leaving for good. Valeriy Vayngardt, chairman of the Novosibirsk chapter of "Revival," reasons as follows: "As a people, we will not last in Russia. Those who want to remain Germans are considering emigration. We are on the brink of assimilation." In Vayngardt's opinion, there is no time left to wait for an autonomous entity. The nation is threatened by the loss of its language and ethnic identity...

As the former USSR fell apart, the hopes to preserve the unity of "Soviet" Germans, who are "scattered" all over the territory of the present-day CIS have also diminished. The Germans residing in Central Asian republics are more emigration-minded. They fear ethnic conflicts and new language problems.

The German Government considered unfortunate a statement by Boris Yeltsin in Saratov (to the effect that there will be no German autonomy in places where no dense (90 percent) German populations exist). Yet, as the German Embassy in Moscow maintains, the German Government proceeds from a declaration signed by that same Yeltsin in Bonn on 21 November 1991. The declaration (Article 12) says: "Germany acknowledges with satisfaction the intention of Russia to restore the republic of Germans in the area of the traditional residence of their ancestors along the Volga, without infringing upon the interests of the population residing there in the process." Experts in Germany are also considering a proposal by Kravchuk concerning the possibility of resettling Germans to the Crimea (however, this is not viewed as an alternative to the Volga republic).

Vladimir Seryakov, executive chairman of the State Committee for Nationality Policy, pointed to the newly adopted resolution of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet concerning an ethnic German rayon in Omsk Oblast. In his opinion, the "propaganda" of "Revival" reduces the situation to a harsh choice between having a republic now, or emigrating (this organization does not have a representative in the state committee).

In the opinion of the above-mentioned Seryakov, there are prospects for the evolution of an autonomous form of German statehood. To be sure, there are no precise deadlines. Genrikh Grout maintains: "There will be no major migration to the Volga area!" Local residents in Saratov are displaying unanimous anti-autonomy sentiments which has caused local Germans to "pack their bags." Apparently, the Interstate Council for the Rehabilitation of Germans in the Former USSR, of which Grout is the chairman, supports the idea of an autonomous entity in the Volga area only pro forma. The council sees "ensuring the free, systematic departure of all Germans in the former USSR who wish to depart..." as its objective. According to expert estimates of this organization, between 80 and 90 percent will leave within four to five years.

All in all, at present "Revival" takes greater interest in Germany's attitude than in proposals from inside the CIS—the Crimea, rayons of Kyrgyzstan. Previously, Germany welcomed each resettled German whereas now, Vayngardt believes, "the fear of an entire wave rolling in from Russia is prevalent in the FRG."

The German Embassy in Russia rejects rumors that it is trying to slow down the resettlement process. The embassy attributes a 10,000 drop in the number of emigrants in 1991 compared with 1990 to the natural desire of some Germans to remain in the CIS. However, Grout is convinced that the German Government restricts re-emigration artificially. In the opinion of "Revival," the FRG strives to stretch out the process of resettlement over decades with technical obstacles. Vayngardt said: "This would mean the ethnic death of our people."

To be sure, the right of Germans to resettle is guaranteed by Article 116 of the German Constitution. The Interstate Council intends to defend this right.

Bashkortostan Defends Tatarstan Referendum

PM1603150592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Zinovyev: "Bashkortostan Criticizes Russian Parliament's Action"]

[Text] Ufa—The Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet Presidium has made a statement in which it has defined its attitude toward the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's appeal to the Republic of Tatarstan's people in connection with the referendum in this republic scheduled for 21 March.

Disagreement with the Russian parliament's assessment of the upcoming referendum's nature and aims was expressed. "We believe," the statement says, "that given the Russian Federation leadership's lack of an integral program for a federative structure, the referendum in Tatarstan is a logical step on the way to a consistent implementation...of the declaration on the Tatar SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republic's] state sovereignty and has been prompted by the Tatarstan leadership's desire to enlist the support of Tatarstan's multiethnic people in its struggle for a radical reformation of relations between a renewed Russian Federation and Tatarstan and for an equitable treaty with Russia.

"The Republic of Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet Presidium states that the Russian Supreme Soviet's appeal to Tatarstan's people on the eve of the referendum is an attempt to influence the way it is being prepared and held and the results of the expression of the people's will, and is evidence that the Russian leadership is still clinging to administrative-edict forms of relations with the republics making up the Russian Federation. Neither can one fail to be surprised by the duplicity and inconsistency in its approaches to the sociopolitical processes in various regions of Russia and the Commonwealth states."

The Russian parliament's appeal, the statement says in conclusion, "is not conducive to the radical reformation of the economy, the shifting of the Russian Federation's structure onto a democratic basis, or the creation of a united federative state of free peoples living in historically formed sovereign republics."

Far East Scientists To Help Ethnic Minorities

LD1803232592 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Olga Afonchikova]

[Text] Khabarovsk March 18 TASS—The number of indigenous population in the Amur region of the Russian Far East is rapidly decreasing and has become a matter of concern for Russian scientists, who have worked out a programme of aid to preserve the native population of the region.

The programme appeared as a result of studies which have been conducted over many years, Vlada Ryabkova, head of an ecological laboratory at the Khabarovsk Medical Institute, told TASS on Wednesday [18 March].

There are over 28 ethnic groups on the territory of the Khabarovsk region, some of them are on the verge of total extinction. The average life-span of the natives is declining. Ryabkova believes that the health service and ecology, apart from socio-economic conditions, are to blame for the situation.

The new programme lays a special emphasis on health protection of women amd children of various ethnic groups.

Under the programme, over 20,000 people will undergo medical checkup. The doctors of the Institute for Protection of Motherhood and Childhood and local public health organisations will take part in the programme.

Far East Unions Against 'Hasty' Price Increase

LD1803142992 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Vitrishak]

[Text] Khabarovsk March 18 TASS—Leaders of Russian Far Eastern Trade Union Association, uniting about 6 million members of this public organization, appealed to the Russian president and the parliament not to allow a hasty price rise of fuels.

Trade union leaders of Khabarovsk and Primorsk territories, Magadan, Kamchatka and Sakhalin provinces and the Jewish autonomous province sent a telegram to Moscow, expressing alarm saying that as a result of the new stage of liberalization of prices of essential food products may soar to 8 to 10 times of the existing prices. The stoppage of the most important raw products and production industries in the region will become inevitable. The danger of agricultural establishments going into liquidity and massive unemployment will become a reality.

The Russian Far East, which has always been a subsidised raw product supplying area, liberalization of fuel prices will lead to a stoppage of production and a collapse of reforms in the transition to a market economy and impoverishment of a majority of far eastern residents.

International Affairs

Kravchuk on CIS Failure, Gamsakhurdia, Mutalibov

PM1903102792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 1

[Interview with Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk by correspondent O. Musafirova in Kiev; date not given: "Kravchuk: Why CIS Is Idle When Blood Is Being Shed..."]

[Text] [Musafirova] Leonid Makarovich, the CIS heads of state meet in Kiev tomorrow. What decisions would leave you personally happy with the results of the meeting?

[Kravchuk] First, if we carry out what was planned in Minsk—a whole range of economic issues. Then we should finally determine where we stand on the Black Sea Fleet. After all, a panel of experts has been working on this for some time now. Incidentally, I recently saw an interview with Admiral Kasatonov in IZVESTIYA. His feelings have changed and are not the same as they were initially. And that is gratifying. The admiral realizes that it is impossible to live in a state and feel oneself to be outside of that state, viewing Ukraine simply as an ethnic concept and relying on strong-arm methods. I will be satisfied if we work out not even a final approach but just a conceptual approach to the problem.

I would like us in Kiev to take a serious attitude toward helping to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. I find this exceptionally worrying! I cannot even tell journalists—including foreign journalists—why the CIS is idle when blood is being shed.

I will submit a proposal to set up a Commonwealth Court of Arbitration or some such similar institution. After all, what civilized society acts like this—agreeing one day (as was the case with Turkmen gas supplies to Ukraine) and then changing the decision next day, thereby bringing labor collectives and millions of people to their knees. If this is what we call a commonwealth, then I would say bluntly that we have created a smoke screen for everybody to do exactly what they think fit. No, I do not have to inform anyone if, say, the mayor of Kiev is being elected—that is a purely internal matter. But when it is a question of currency, prices, and debts—how can decisions directly affecting everyone be taken if they are not informed?

[Musafirova] Do you endorse Gorbachev's forecast that the CIS will eventually turn into a federation?

[Kravchuk] That will never happen.

[Musafirova] Is what is happening at the moment—Gamsakhurdia's ouster, Mutalibov's resignation—a purely local process or is it the beginning of a retreat by a wave of power which has played its historical role?

[Kravchuk] I do not think there is any law of nature operating. Look at Gamsakhurdia and Mutalibov. They went because of bloodshed, not because of economic problems. After all, the people demonstrating in the square in front of Mutalibov were in mourning—women in black headscarves. Thousands of innocent people have had their lives ruined on both sides! The people will never forgive a leader who cannot provide them with the most important thing—the protection of human life. Accidents and natural disasters do not count—I am talking about war. In both Georgia and Azerbaijan the reason for the leaders' ouster was military conflict—that is a law of nature. And if similar events come to a head in any area, they too will be the basis for the ouster of any president.

[Musafirova] Leonid Makarovich, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is currently experiencing hard times, not least in Ukraine. Insofar as I am aware, IZVESTIYA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA have long been your family, household papers—if I can put it that way. Will that situation now change?

[Kravchuk] I will definitely continue to be a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reader.

[Musafirova] And continue your subscription at the new rates?

[Kravchuk] As I said—definitely. I read all the newspapers anyway. That is part of a president's job.

Fokin Cited on CIS Talks, Arbitration Body

PM1803150792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 3

[Unattributed report under "Direct Line" rubric: "V. Fokin: The Main Thing Is To Restore Economic Relations Within the CIS"]

[Text] Kiev—At his latest press conference Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin said that one of the most important documents which the heads of state are due to sign in Kiev 20 March is an agreement on the restoration of economic ties and liability for their disruption. A kind of organ of arbitration is needed to issue its verdict if treaty obligations are not fulfilled. For example, Kiev's major radio plant is now standing idle, and there is no one to hold responsible for this. At the same time the Ukrainian Prime Minister called the CIS an organization with no definite functions, structures, or borders, and hence likely to be short-lived, although a slogan about Ukraine leaving the Commonwealth is premature.

It was announced at the press conference that a transit bus traveling from Ukraine has been fired on in Moldova; there are casualties.

Cited on Debt, Other Topics

MK1903090192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Mar 92 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report under the "Ukraine" rubric: "'You Cannot Sign, Drink Champagne, and Forget It.'

Vitold Fokin Expects the Meeting of the Heads of CIS Countries in Kiev To Sign an Agreement on Restoring Economic Ties"]

[Text] The first thing the Ukrainian prime minister did at the press conference on his return from the CIS countries' heads of government meeting in Moscow was to state that, despite a report by the central mass media, Ukraine had lost nothing at the meeting in Moscow 13 March and had not yielded a single fundamental position either to Russia or the G-7 countries. The main thing that was achieved was that Ukraine, by agreeing to joint liability for payment of the USSR's foreign debt, did not recognize Russia as the individual guarantor of this complex process. "Why should we allow any former USSR republic to go bankrupt except Russia?" he asked journalists, reminding them that after Ukraine's failure to sign last year's October memorandum on joint payment of the Union's foreign debt, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and the Baltic republics subsequently joined the republic and agreed to the zero option, and Moldova did the same with reservations. However, Ukraine has agreed to pay off the debt in order to obtain new credits, which each republic will henceforth pay off independently.

Vitold Fokin explained that Ukraine had benefited because, first, after the tripartite talks between Ukraine, Russia, and representatives of the G-7 countries, Russia (which is responsible for eight republics) and Ukraine (which is responsible for the rest) were recognized as cochairmen at the interstate Observer Council on debt repayment. Second, an agreement was reached about setting up a completely independent bank to service the former Union's foreign debt. Third, the parties secured approval of a decisionmaking mechanism whereby neither Ukraine nor Russia will be able to make individual decisions.

Answering journalists' questions about the upcoming meeting of CIS heads of state in Kiev 20 March, the Ukrainian prime minister stated that the agenda includes more than 20 issues, primarily military ones, but he would like to seen some economic ones as well. "The main one is the signing of an agreement on restoring disrupted economic ties within the CIS. In Moscow, Turkmenistan even proposed setting up some kind of arbitration organ, but what is the point? Why sign agreements that will subsequently not be honored? However, we can no longer rely on the fear of God alone. We cannot go on living like this: We sign agreements, we drink champagne, then we forget all about them," he stated, proposing that a defaulting enterprise in any CIS country should pay a fine into its republic's coffers, and the republic should settle up with its CIS colleagues. According to Vitold Fokin, this stance is advocated by Uzbekistan and Belarus, for example.

Vitold Fokin reacted calmly to the news that Russia is establishing its own armed forces: "Russia has finally stopped pussyfooting around and has openly admitted that no state can exist without an army," he said, adding that he fully supports President Kravchuk's decision to temporarily suspend the removal of tactical nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory. The possibility that Ukraine might become internationally isolated as a result of the change in its position clearly does not scare Vitold Fokin: "The nub of the president's decision is the phrase 'temporarily suspend.'"

The recent incident in which a bus carrying Ukrainian tourists was shot at in Moldova was branded inadmissible and scandalous by Fokin. He told journalists that the Ukrainian president is preparing a decree that envisages, first, that Ukrainian troops establish a secure barrier along the borders and, if necessary, even destroy foreign military formations; and second, that the possibility of receiving a large number of refugees from the Dnestr regions be ensured. (This decree was published 17 March.)

A closed session of parliament will be held 25 March at which the Vitold Fokin's future and that of the Ukrainian National Bank leadership may be decided. As far as this event is concerned, Vitold Fokin stated that he expects this session to finally resolutely establish a demarcation of powers between the executive and legislative branches. "The government cannot merely provide constant excuses. This situation does nothing to help stabilize the situation in Ukraine," he concluded.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Summit Preparations

LD1803200592 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Correspondent Lyudmila Semina report from Kiev]

[Text] [Semina] It seems that all roads lead to Kiev today, because everybody knows that a meeting of CIS member-states will be held here on 20 March. On the eve of this event, experts, working groups and journalists are gathering here, and the arrival of the heads of state is expected tomorrow. We asked Boris Ivanovich Tarasyuk, Ukrainian deputy foreign minister, to speak about the final preparations for the meeting of heads of state. He leads one of the working groups.

[Begin recording] [Tarasyuk] The working group has prepared a preliminary agenda. This agenda includes all the issues submitted by CIS member-states. We can put the heads of states in a difficult situation if we propose such a number of documents for one day of work. We face the difficult task of selecting the most important points of the agenda to submit to the heads of state.

[Unidentified voice] Is it not very difficult having only one day?

[Tarasyuk] For the time being we proceed from the fact that the meeting will last one day.[end recording]

[Semina] It is known that military and political issues, the problem of economic ties, a system of paying back the former Union's foreign debt, and other important issues will occupy a considerable place on the agenda of the forthcoming meeting of heads of state. We asked the interlocutor if serious differences are expected on some of them.

[Begin recording] [Tarasyuk] I suppose that, first of all, all the CIS member-states must comply with the accords and follow the principles they pledged to follow at the moment of formation. If they act this way, I think those problems which constantly accompany cooperation within the CIS framework will be eliminated.

[Unidentified voice] Perhaps a single coordinating center is needed?

[Tarasyuk] I do not think that it is a question of a single coordinating center. If all the CIS members show good will, the problem of any coordination will fall away by itself.

Defense Official Cited on Joint Strategic Forces

OW1903112992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1045 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the new assistant Ukrainian Defence Minister Major-General Mikhail Bashkirov, the CIS summit opening in Kiev on Friday [20 March] will again discuss the status of the joint strategic forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The Ukrainian top brass believes that the strategic forces of the Commonwealth "should be controlled by a single command, but be subordinate to the heads of states in the territories of which they are stationed." In the general's opinion they should belong to the state and be delegated as part of the joint Armed Forces.

Six weeks ago General Bashkirov was dismissed from the post of the commander of a strategic aviation division stationed in Ukraine by the CIS Chief Commander Marshal Shaposhnikov. His division was the first one to pledge allegiance to Ukraine. Several days ago the general was appointed assistant Defence Minister. In his opinion there should be no strategic forces of the Commonwealth, because "the CIS is not a state but just a union of independent countries."

The general believes that the concept of the joint strategic forces of Marshal Shaposhnikov is unacceptable for countries forming their own armed forces.

Rukh Official Against CIS Military Agreement

AU1903102592 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] If we, in Kiev, sign the final decision in the formulation that was adopted by the recent Minsk conference, then we will create a large occupation army on the territory of Ukraine. This statement was made to a representative of the INTERFAX Agency by Vyacheslav Chornovil, co-chairman of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka], who made a forecast about the meeting of heads of states of the Commonwealth that will be held on 20 March in Kiev. Elaborating his idea, he recalled that during the February meeting in Minsk, the concept of strategic armed forces was, in fact, expanded to such an extent that, today, everything can be covered by this concept, with the exception of internal troops and the National Guard.

National Guard Arrives at Border With Moldova

LD1903014292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1944 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Kiev—On March 17, units of the Ukrainian National Guard start arriving at Ukrainian-Moldova border. According to the information received by PF [POSTFACTUM] from the sources close to high command of the Ukrainian National Guard (UNG), pursuant to decree by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, put into effect as of March 17, the UNG's units will provide support to border troops, bodies of interior and Ukrainian National Security Service (UNSS) to prevent border crossing by armed groups and individuals (irrespective of destination) and to enforce public order in the border area. Major Gen. Vladimir Mokhov, UNG's chief commander, said in his interview with PF: We stand ready to solve the tasks set by presidential decree on a 50-kilometer zone. We will assign as many UNG's units to the Ukrainian-Moldova frontier as required to fulfill our tasks. I would like to stress that local authorities and population of the regions bordering on Moldova give warm reception to our servicemen, promptly solving all the questions concerning our guards' quartering and catering. This has been emphasized by actually all chiefs of military operative units, set up in the border area.

Refugees From Transdnestr Arrive in Odessa

LD1903044592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Refugees from Transdnestr are still arriving in villages in Odessa Oblast. In the last 24 hours their number has doubled and is now estimated at more that 3,200 people. According to UKRINFORM, these are mostly women, the elderly, and children. People in the Black Sea region hope that, despite the fact that the situation is extremely complicated, the Moldovan conflict will not spread and will be resolved peacefully.

Kravchuk: Sevastopol Can Become Two-Fleet Base

LD1803220292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2102 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Sevastopol can become a base of two fleets, those of the CIS and Ukraine. The CIS and Russia will have to pay Sevastopol for the upkeep of their naval base on another state's territory. This is President Leonid Kravchuk's point of view which he set forth at a meeting with a Sevastopol delegation. In accordance with the Ukraine president's recent decree, Sevastopol received the status of a town in republican subordination.

CIS Servicemen Exchange Said 'One-Way Street'

OW1903033192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine said that the exchange of servicemen fulfilling their national service between Ukraine and other Commonwealth States on the basis of intergovernment agreements is a one-way street. The Kiev military district said that since January 1, more than 10 thousand servicemen out of 12,700 who did not pledge loyalty to Ukraine have left the district. About 1 thousand were allowed to complete their service in their own regions.

In the same period only 3,800 soldiers and sergeants entered the military district. The other military districts in the republic experienced similar losses.

The headquarters of the Kiev military district said the reason for the uneven exchange is the detainment of those who wish to return to Ukraine. No servicemen have been formally drafted to Ukraine, they come of their own accord.

The discrepancy in the number of servicemen leaving and entering Ukraine has created a shortage in the subdivisions of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

Dnepropetrovsk Missile Plant To Stop Production

OW1903112192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1045 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the giants of the Soviet defence industry—the Yuzhnoye association in Dnepropetrovsk—has declared intentions to fully stop the production of Zenit strategic missiles this month. Under a decision of a Ukrainian government commission it will switch to the production of civilian goods.

The French State Minister for Defence Jacques Mellick is shown the Dnepropetrovsk missile complex these days. [sentence as received]

Representatives of an international trade center with headquarters in Switzerland intend to discuss with association representatives the sale of manufactured Zenit missiles for commercial launchings.

France Offers To Help Establish National Guard

LD1903044292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 17 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] France is prepared to help Ukraine set up a national guard. According to reports from news agencies, Mellick, French secretary of state for defense, who visited Kiev, made this proposal. He spoke of the possibility of organizing the Ukrainian national guard on the model of the French gendarmes and also spoke of the idea of exchanging specialists. French gendarmes may visit Ukraine to study the republic's requirements while Ukrainian guardsmen will go to France where they will receive professional training. Ukraine intends to set up a guard of 50,000 men.

UN Representative Leaves for Post in New York

AU1803153592 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] On 17 March, Viktor Boychuk, a representative of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, left for New York to assume his post as permanent representative of our republic at the United Nations.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Interviewed on Future of Ukraine

LD1203125992 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT 12 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Volkov]

[Text] Warsaw March 12—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said Ukraine sees its future in the Commonwealth of Independent States. He emphasised however that if the Commonwealth returns to the path on which the Soviet Union broke up, the long existence of the Commonwealth seems questionable.

In an interview with the Polish newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA, Kravchuk said the Ukrainian people will never agree to maintaining or restoring the old structures of the former Soviet Union, with which the tragic pages of our history are associated.

Asked about the possible resettlement of Germans who were at one time deported from Ukraine, Kravchuk stressed that "Germans' return to the lands of their ancestors is the restoration of historic justice with regard to the deported people. They will enjoy equal rights with all citizens of the republic."

Recalling that 400,000 Germans lived in five areas of Ukraine before the beginning of the Second World War, Kravchuk said: "If after the ultimate resettlement to Ukraine they set up a district in which they make up the majority, they will receive the right to form an autonomous unit." However, this will be an autonomy within the framework of the Ukrainian state, he noted.

Kravchuk said good and businesslike relations are being shaped between Ukraine and Germany. "We do not pursue a policy based on preliminary bargaining, we do not say: We will give Germans the opportunity to resettle to Ukraine and you in Germany think about aid to us. Nothing of this kind. We want to build relations with Germany and other countries in accordance with international treaties, mutual respect and understanding."

Responding to a query about the position of national minorities, Kravchuk said: "My firm stance is as follows: all nations—Russians, Poles, Germans, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Jews, Gagauzes, the Crimean Tatars and others—should have the necessary conditions for developing science, culture, the mother tongue and preserving national traditions."

On foreign political difficulties now faced by the republic, Kravchuk noted that when state independence was proclaimed, "some forces of the old centre, chauvinist-minded deputies of the Russian Supreme Soviet put pressure on us which cannot be compared to anything." In his view, "imperial ambitions take the upper hand in the minds of some of our opponents contrary to reality and logic. Interference in our internal affairs continues."

Kravchuk cautioned against possible conflicts in relations with Russia. "What is most dangerous is that part of yesterday Russian democrats tries to pit the Ukrainian and Russian peoples against each other, sow enmity and hatred between them, playing the Crimean card and making territorial claims to Ukraine." Kravchuk called for solving all disputable issues at the negotiating table and in line with the principles of international law.

Colonel Favors Removing Those Opposed to Oath

LD1803172492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Colonel Martirosyan, chairman of the Ukrainian Officers' Union, declared at a meeting with servicemen of the Nikolayev garrison that they should compile and send to him lists of commanders who oppose the oath to Ukraine. Martirosyan promised that they would be removed from service.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told today at the news center of the Black Sea Fleet that Martirosyan later said that wrong people came to power in the Ukrainian Armed Forces. In conclusion, he said that on 4-5 April, there will be a congress of the Ukrainian Officers' Union, and that Admiral Igor Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, will be invited to attend. In Martirosyan's words, this evidently will be the last time before his removal.

Campaign Planned To Catch AWOL Soldiers

OW1903033292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A well-informed source told "Interfax" that Ukraine will launch a wide-scale campaign in late March to locate fugitives from the national army and return them to their respective subdivisions. January 3, when Ukraine began forming its own army more than 650 soldiers and sergeants left their units and subdivisions and are currently "AWOL".

The director of the headquarters of the Kiev Military District Major General Mikhail Tsikun told "Interfax" that the exodus was brought on by negative public opinion directed at military life and service.

Parliament Official Meets Tatar Representatives

LD1803221992 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Yesterday Durdynets, first deputy head of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet, met representatives of the central leadership of the Crimean Tatar National Movement at the latter's request. During the conversation the Tatars were informed that the Supreme Soviet, the president, and Ukraine's government are constantly at work on the problems of the Crimean Tatar people in the extremely complex socioeconomic and political situation, and are seeking ways to resolve them in a fitting manner.

Despite the difficulties involved in solving all the painful problems for the Crimean Tatar people, they are not being deferred, but they have to be resolved in a civilized way. This is stressed in a telegram from Plyushch, head of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet, to the central leadership of the Crimean Tatar Movement in connection with its intention to hold mass picketing over many days of Ukraine's Parliament.

During the discussion the representatives of the Crimean Tatar Movement expressed their thoughts on how to resolve the Crimean Tatar problems. These proposals are now being examined by Ukraine's leadership.

Law Adopted on Presidential Representatives

LD1903054992 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet adopted a law on representatives of the president. According to the law, appointments for this post in oblasts and rural rayons are carried out personally by the president. The main issue, which is being debated at present on the eve of a decree on appointments, is whether new people will join the structures of the executive power, or whether they will be represented by the nomenklatura range. [passage omitted]

Black Sea Navy Fleet Headquarters Picketed

LD1803184392 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Mikhail Stetsyuk]

[Text] Sevastopol March 18 TASS—Activists from the Sevastopol branch of the Rukh Movement, the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Taras Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Society as well as Crimean Tatars and local Muslims picketed the Black Sea Fleet headquarters here tonight.

Protesters demanded the transfer of the Black Sea Fleet units, stationed on Ukrainian territory, to Ukraine, the restitution of officers and N.C.O's [non-commissioned officers] dismissed after pledging allegiance to Ukraine and the resignation of Black See Fleet Commander Igor Kasatonov for failure to comply with the Ukrainian president's decrees.

Former Residents of Poland Appeal to Parliament

AU1903115192 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Residents of Volyn—former residents of Polish Chelm Voivodship—have appealed to the Supreme Soviet of our republic. They propose that a temporary parliamentary commission be created to look into the question of the forced expulsion of the Ukrainian population from Chelm Voivodship in 1944-46. That action, code-named "Wisla" [Polish for River Vistula], was carried out on Stalin's orders. The commission must verify the lawfulness of the demands of the former repatriates with regard to their receiving compensation for the property and land they lost in Poland.

Socialist Party Discusses Collectivization

LD1903140892 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program Network in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] The Ukrainian Socialist Party's supreme body, namely the Political Council, held a plenum last weekend. Oleksandr Moroz, party leader and people's deputy, stressed in his report that all of Ukraine is covered with primary rayon and oblast committees of the party. Te[illegible]opol Obkom was the last to be organized. The agenda included propaganda by the party members of the party program documents and adding new members to its (?benches). Collectivizing the country's state property was set as the goal. It was stressed that collectivization is the only thing that can confront new-born capitalism in the USSR. Besides, collectives of state enterprises are traditionally a favorable environment for increasing a socialist party's influence.

Representatives of Religious Groups Meet in Kiev

AU1903103392 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1530 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] A meeting between heads of churches, religious organizations, and associations that are active in Ukraine took place in Kiev. The participants in the meeting discussed the Ukrainian presidential decree that deals with the return of buildings for worship and other church property to religious groups. It was pointed out that this document is a positive step in the interreligious relations in Ukraine. At the same time, it was stressed that it is necessary to urgently adopt governmental documents that would further specify the procedure for the division of buildings for religious worship and [other] property, since presently there are frequent cases when this is done under the influence of special sympathy or antipathy on the part of local governments toward various faiths. The participants in the meeting sent a letter to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine with specific proposals on the improvement of the interreligious relations and relations between churches and state institutions of the republic.

Regulations on Convict Labor Payments Amended

AU1903083092 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No 10 (56), Mar 92 p 11

[Ukrainian Cabinets of Ministers Resolution "On Changes in the Procedure for Making Deductions from the Wages of the Special Contingent in Institutions of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs" issued on 22 February (No. 78)]

[Text] In order to further improve the conditions of imprisonment in accordance with the Main Trends of reform of Ukraine's criminal and executive system, the Cabinet of Ministers resolves as follows:

1. To determine that wages for convicts who serve their terms in prisons and for those who are held in corrective labor clinics of Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs will be paid, as of 1 January 1992, in full amount in accordance with the current tariffs and fixed wages in corresponding branches of the national economy.

The income tax, the cost of the guaranteed meals, garments, footwear, special medicines, and services that have been rendered will be deducted from the wages of the aforementioned contingent. Other deductions from the wages are made proceeding from the general regulations in accordance with the current legislation.

In 1992, the expenditure that is associated with the aforementioned changes in the procedure for making deductions from the wages of the special contingent will be covered by Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs from its own sources of financing.

2. The following documents must be considered as no longer valid:

The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers resolution of 30 December 1061, No. 1733-109;

entries 1 and 5 of Point 3 of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers resolution of 25 September 1971, No. 458-8;

paragraph 1 of Point 27 in the Regulations on the Corrective Labor Clinics for Forced Treatment and Corrective Labor for Chronic Alcoholics and Drug Abusers that was adopted by the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers resolution on 25 July 1972, No. 346.

Nuclear Reactor Shut Down; No Leakage Reported

LD1803152192 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Vladimir Shevchenko]

[Text] Neteshin, Khmelnitsk region March 18 TASS—One of the reactors at a nuclear power station near the Ukrainian city of Khmelnitsk was shut down early today, because of a pipeline breakage.

Radiation levels in the 30-kilometer zone around the stations remained unchanged at 8-12 microroentgen per hour.

Safety experts said it will take about 24 hours to repair the faulty pipeline in the station's machine room.

Enterprise Turns Into Aircraft Repair Base

LD1903053292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] A base for the major overhaul of TU-154 passenger aircraft is being set up in southern Ukraine. This enterprise in Nikolayevskiy Oblast previously repaired only military aircraft. A great deal of preparatory work has been carried out in the enterprise's workshops. Engines in need of overhaul are coming in already, not only from Ukraine, but also from Moldova, Belarus, and Russia. The collective has plans in the near future to carry out repair of other main components of TU-154 craft, ITAR-TASS reports.

Gold Fields Yield More Than 20,000 Tonnes

LD1903054492 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] As was shown by the latest geological prospecting, the gold fields in Ukraine contain at least 20,000 tonnes of the precious metal. More than 15,000 tonnes can be extracted in open pits.

Oil Reserves, Requirements Situation Summarized

LD1803144592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1210 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Kiev—Ukraine can meet only eight per cent of its oil needs at the expense of its own resources and 15 to 20 per cent of its gas requirements. According to figures supplied by the State Committee for Geology and the use of Ukraine's bowels [as received], the republic's need in crude oil runs at 60 million tonnes of cubic meters a year and in natural gas - 115 to 120 billion cubic meters a year. All industrial oil reserves that can be extracted given the existing technological level in Ukraine total 153300000 [figure as received] tonnes, gas condensate - 78.8 million tones, natural gas - 1.095 trillion cubic meters. Experts from the state committee believe these reserves will be enough for Ukraine over several years at best given the present consumption rate. Experts think the republic should find an opportunity to import 54 million tonnes of oil, 104 billion cubic meters of gas and 35 million tones of coal only in 1992 alone to meet the needs of the republic's national economy. (Ukraine's coal needs are met 90 per cent at the expense of its own natural resources.)

Experts believe the traditional suppliers of oil (Russia) and gas (Russia and Turkmenistan) will not, for various reasons, become the main exporters of this raw material to Ukraine because of the slump in Russia's oil and gas producing industries and contracts with Turkmenistan for the supply of 28 billion cubic meters of gas in 1992 will hardly be fulfilled in conjunction with the deterioration of Ukrainian-Turkish relations. Therefore, the Ukrainian government should orientate itself at present at the purchase of oil and gas in other countries - in Iran (Ukraine already buys these raw materials in this country) and in Middle Eastern countries, primarily in Kuwait with which Ukraine already has such an agreement.

According to information received in the Ukrainian economics ministry, a super-terminal to handle foreign tankers which will ship Iranian and Arab oil to Ukraine is planned to be built in the city of Odessa this summer. There are plans also to re-equip sea port in herson [as received] to receive Middle Eastern oil, but these are long-term plans. Experts at the Economics Ministry think the republic will have to pay six to eight billion dollars annually for oil only whereas Ukraine's revenue from its exports did not exceed six billion roubles in 1991.

Nikolayev-Built Refrigerator Ship Fate Uncertain

PM1803141792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Video report by S. Milyanchikov, A. Zamsha]

[Text] [Milyanchikov] The latest refrigerator ship of the "Bukhta Russka" series, designed to transport frozen fish from fishing trawlers to base, has been launched in Nikolayev. This event may not have merited so much attention had it not been for one thing. It is the first time in the 200-year history of the shipbuilders' city that a ship has been launched without a name. Because of the breakdown in economic ties within the former Union, the refrigerator ship has been left without a client or a customer who would have given it a name. It is still not known what state flag it will sail under when all the work is completed. The plant named for the 61 Communards has also found itself in a difficult situation. It used to have one client—the USSR Ministry of Defense. Within the framework of conversion, the plant has now transferred to the manufacture of civilian output and is now facing its problems alone.

Belarus

Republic To Start Forming Armed Forces 20 Mar

LD1803184392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By BELTA correspondents Vladimir Glod and Larissa Lazar for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 18 Mar (TASS)—The Republic of Belarus will start forming its own armed forces on 20 March. This was decided today by the Belarus parliament in a resolution noting that this is essential "to the interests of the Belarussian people and the state interests of the Republic of Belarus, and in accordance with the Declaration of State Sovereignty by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus." It was proposed that the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus submit for parliamentary approval the structure, manpower, and logistic supply system for the armed forces. According to expert calculations presented to BELTA correspondents by Colonel Valeriy Pavlov, it will cost Belarus almost 17 billion rubles [R] a year to maintain its own armed forces, excluding purchases of weapons and hardware. This is equal to the amount being spent by the republic on relief operations in the wake of the Chernobyl disaster. With weapons and hardware purchases included, the republic will have to budget R28 billion annually for the upkeep of its own armed forces.

Shushkevich Hopes for 'Fruitful' Kiev Meeting

LD1803200992 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Interview with Chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich by Petr Mokritskiy in Minsk on 18 March—live or recorded]

[Text] The session of the Belarus Supreme Soviet is continuing in Minsk. Here is our correspondent Petr Mokritskiy.

[Mokritskiy] The Belarus delegation is off to Kiev tomorrow to take part in a conference of heads of states and heads of governments of CIS member-countries. Today, republican leaders are working at the Supreme Soviet session. The range of problems discussed in this hall touches in one way or another upon the Kiev meeting's agenda. People's deputies of the Republic of Belarus are concerned primarily by the lack of coordination in mutual economic relations within the framework of the Commonwealth. The address to the CIS heads of states, which was read at the session on behalf of the Centrist Association of Belarus deputies says, inter alia: The economy has become hostage to a policy leading to the Commonwealth's collapse. Real conditions for forming a common economic space have not been created. Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, is at our microphone. In your view, will the Kiev meeting be able to adopt decisions that will halt the destructive processes within the CIS?

[Shushkevich] You know, I would say that alongside the destructive processes, as you call them, there are also overall constructive processes. It is difficult to notice them, true, against the current background, but they exist. The thing is that, in my view, in Kiev we will once again stress, discuss, and find means to agree on the way the already adopted decisions should be implemented. In addition, we will examine military issues. Here I very much welcome Russia's decision on setting up its own Ministry of Defense because this will make matters simpler. Now everything can be arranged properly, therefore I believe that this meeting will be a fruitful one.

[Mokritskiy] In your view, should interstate economic structures be created?

[Shushkevich] You know, something perhaps could be useful, but I think that this may not be a CIS structure. Just look what large structures there are in the EC! They are not only economic ones, but also legal and juridical. We must create everything that is sensible. The initial opposition, that is, that nothing should be created, has already gone. In fact, the structure made up of two representatives from each state and experts who help them is now working very efficiently. We have received a package of documents, but I would like to say that on the whole there is a certain tendency regarding the way these documents were prepared. This is, however, already a result of great work, while there is no such result in many areas for the time being. Therefore, I think that the creation of such structures is on the agenda.

Foreign Minister Begins U.S. Working Visit

LD1803032192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2215 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolev]

[Excerpt] Washington, 18 Mar (TASS)—Talks that start today between Belorussian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko and the highest-placed leaders in the U.S. Administration are aimed at all-around development of bilateral relations between Belorussia and the United States. The working visit to Washington by the head of Belorussia's foreign policy department envisages meetings with U.S. President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker during which it is planned to discuss a broad spectrum of problems of cooperation between the two states in political, economic, and humanitarian spheres. Questions will also be touched on concerning the opening of diplomatic missions. As expected, the minister will present the Belorussian charge to the United States. [passage omitted]

Moldova

Transdnestr Leaders Send Snegur Peace Proposals

LD1803223192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Report by correspondent S.Fateyev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A very fragile lull has now set in on the banks of the Dnestr. As has been reported, in accordance with an agreed decision by the highest leaders of Moldova and the Transdnestr, there should have been a cease-fire since yesterday evening. However, in Dubossary, our film crew were the involuntary witnesses of shooting from the right bank of the river twice in the past 24 hours. In the first instance, the guards were forced to fire back, but displayed restraint on the second occasion.

This morning, the Transdnestr leadership sent the Moldovan president and government a package of specific proposals for a peaceful settlement of the conflict but at the time of filing this report to the editorial office, no reply has yet been received here from the Moldovan leadership.

Dnestr Peace Plan Adopted; Snegur Heads Forces

LD1803195192 Moscow TASS in English
1920 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fyodor Angeliy]

[Text] Chisinau, March 18 TASS—The Moldovan Government adopted a resolution late on Wednesday [18 March] envisaging a settlement of the explosive situation in the breakaway Dnestr region, but its contents are not disclosed. The document will be discussed by the republican parliament on Thursday [19 March], Belarussian Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy told parliamentarians on Wednesday.

He said there is no alternative to a peaceful settlement of the crisis. The developments in the Dnestr region have stabilised of late, according to the prime minister. A protocol on creating a joint commission to monitor the implementation of agreements was signed early on Wednesday, he added.

[Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1932 GMT on 18 March reports that: "In accordance with the earlier adopted law on the armed forces, Moldovan president Mircea Snegur assumed the duties of the commander-in-chief of the Moldovan armed forces. A corresponding decree was passed on Wednesday and immediately went into effect."]

Use of Romanian Armed Forces 'Not Ruled Out'

LD1703153692 Moscow TASS in English
1501 GMT 17 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dmitriy Dyakov]

[Text] Bucharest, March 17 TASS—"The use of Romanian armed forces to settle the Dnestr conflict is not ruled out. It is an ultimate and undesirable version. That is why we must be most cautious and avoid provocations," Chairman of the National Liberal Party of Romania Radu Campeanu told a press conference for Romanian and foreign journalists here on Tuesday [17 March]. He stressed that the army could be moved into the territory of Moldova only after all efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement are exhausted.

Campeanu noted that members of the second largest Romanian political party were gravely disturbed by the situation in the Dnestr area, which may trigger off unpredictable conflicts. In his opinion, separatist elements, backed by unlawful military formations, are trying to wrest from the Republic of Moldova a part of its territory, inhabited by Romanians.

CIS Units Attacked; Guardsmen Seize Arms

OW1803175292 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1630 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Army sources said that military groups mobilized in the Transdnestr region and began confiscating weapons and equipment from subdivisions of the 14th Army of the CIS stationed in the region. Both Moldovan police and local guardsmen were involved in the attacks.

Wednesday [18 March] night in the city of Beltsa a group of policemen from the Chisinau OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachments] commanded by Captain Perets attacked an automotive battalion; one soldier was wounded. The group dispersed when the duty officers resisted their attack.

The same group later attacked a missile brigade, but was again forced to disperse when duty officers opened fire. Two policemen were wounded.

In Bender, Transdnestr guardsmen confiscated 9 army gas tanks which have not been returned. Guardsmen also attacked army depots confiscating 14 pistols, 22 carbines, 9 automatic weapons, and nearly 5,000 cartridges.

Tiraspol Calls for Army To Turn Over Weapons

LD1803163292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] The situation in the Dnestr area remains complex. The media in Tiraspol continue to demand that the Soviet Army hand over its weapons to armed formations in the Dnestr area. Things go as far as threats to seize armories without authorization. It may happen that these arms will be used against peaceful people on both sides of the Dnestr.

Kidnapped Army Commander Reported Still Alive

OW1803204592 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1932 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Moldovan security service, the commander of the CIS's 14th army, General Gennadiy Yakovlev, kidnapped by unknown people, is alive. This news was revealed at a press conference in Moscow by General Stolyarov, Marshal Shaposhnikov's aid in charge of personnel.

The fate of the general and of the 14th army was discussed in Chisinau and Tiraspol by a delegation of Russian MPs who were in these cities on March 16 and 17 in view of the sharp ethnic conflict.

On March 16, the car with General Yakovlev, who was on his way to the Odessa hospital, was stopped on the Moldovan-Ukrainian border. To quote the people accompanying the general, the car was stopped by Moldovan policemen. Several men wearing masks seized the general, seated him in their car and sped off in an unknown direction.

The CIS Commander-in-Chief Shaposhnikov removed him from his duties following the transfer of armaments to the Dnestr armed formations by the servicemen of the 14th army.

Member of the delegation Valeriy Shuikov told IF [INTERFAX] that the morale of the army's personnel is critical. Officers told Russian MPs that it is increasingly difficult for them to remain neutral in the context of the events in the Dnestr region. The local residents, particularly women, demand that they be given arms.

Officials Deny Reports on Chechen Recognition

LD1903094592 Moscow TASS in English
0904 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, March 19 TASS—The authorities of the Dnestr republic have denied reports by some news organisations that Grigory Marakutsa, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Moldovan republic, allegedly made a statement about his republic's readiness to recognise the Chechen republic and establish inter-state relations with it.

These reports do not correspond to reality and "are of the apparently false nature", says a statement by the Dnester press centre received by ITAR-TASS. The statement emphasises the publication of such reports is aimed at "destabilising the situation and possibly complicating relations with the Russian Federation."

Education Department Cancels Classes in Tiraspol

OW1803050892 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1602 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Dnestr Republic's Education Department has ordered schools in Tiraspol to cancel classes from March 17 to 31.

This measure follows the imposition of a state of emergency by decree of the Dnestr Republic's president Igor Smirnov from 7 a.m. March 16 in connection with an armed conflict between the Moldovan police and Dnestr guardsmen. The decree establishes special procedures for entry in and exit from the conflict zone, brings the mass media under control and bans all parties and movements in the Dnestr republic.

In the Dubossary region a state of emergency was imposed in early March shortly after the conflict began.

The Moldovan leadership describes these measures as "an aspiration of the Tiraspol leaders to keep the population in permanent tension."

According to the Moldovan Interior Ministry, the number of refugees from the Moldovan villages situated on the left bank of the Dnestr river fleeing to the right bank is growing. The National Bank of Moldova has opened a special account for them.

Radio Tiraspol reported Tuesday [17 March] that the Dnestr republican guard will continue mobilization and the volunteer army will proceed with mobilizing all Cossacks of the Black Sea zone.

Army Paper Reports Dnestr Region Developments

PM1903101992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 1

[Report by correspondents Colonel N. Mulyar and Captain Second Rank V. Urban under "Direct Line" rubric: "Former Commander of 14th Army Kidnapped"]

[Excerpts] 17 Mar—On 16 March women and guardsmen of the Dnestr Moldavian Republic burst onto the territory of a separate battalion stationed in Bendery (commander—Lieutenant Colonel Oleg Ryzhkov), demanding that armored equiment be handed over. The conflict was defused by the arrival there of Grigoriy Marakutsa, chairman of the Dnestr Region Supreme Soviet, but only after long discussion with the women. [passage omitted]

As we have already reported, a special situation has been introduced throughout the territory of the Left Bank by decree of Igor Smirnov, president of the Dnestr Region. It provides for the suspension of activity of all Moldovan parties and public movements, the expulsion of all Moldovan law-enforcement agency staffers from the territory, the surrender of edged weapons and firearms by the local population, and other measures.

For its part, the government of the Republic of Moldova has demanded that the Dnestr Region cease hostilities and disarm formations and surrender weapons within 48 hours. The ultimatum deadline expires at 1800 hours, 17 March. It is difficult to say what actions will be taken after this.

The Association of Women of Moldova has sent a telegram to Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov in which it condemns the transfer of Lieutenant General Gennadiy Yakovlev, former commander of the 14th Army, to the Left Bank and also asks Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov to intervene personally in the settlement of the conflict situation.

At the same time it has been learned that Lt. Gen. Yakovlev was kidnapped at approximately 0815 hours, 16 March, by persons unknown. As Captain Vladimir Rysin, the general's adjutant, told us by telephone, this occurred in the area of the village of Stepovoye (Odessa Oblast). Yakovlev was en route from Tiraspol to the military district hospital in Odessa. The car containing Yakovlev, a warrant officer, and an army driver was stopped by two militiamen. Armed men then dashed out from behind bushes, dragged the military men out of the vehicle, and bound them.

In Rysin's words, the jeep was then shot up by automatic fire and the bound warrant officer thrown into it. The soldier and the general were then taken off in a Zhiguli, but the soldier was later abandoned by the roadside. Yakovlev's fate remains unknown.

This information was confirmed at the 14th Army operations group. It is supposed at army headquarters and also at the Dnestr Region Internal Affairs Administration that the attackers were Moldavian policemen.

National Bank Protests Russian 'Infringement'

AU1803202192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1812 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/3/1992—Moldova's National Bank has made a strong protest against the actions of Russia's Central Bank, which has opened accounts for Tiraspol Center of Credit and Discount. In the declaration issued on this matter, the actions of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation are termed "infringements of international norms and practices." Moldova's National Bank mentioned that—under pressure by separatist forces on the left bank of the Dnestr river—the banks in the self-styled Dnestr Republic did not observe the laws on banks and banking activity.

Moldova's National Bank expressed its hope that Russia's Central Bank would cancel its illegal decision and would contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of normal economic relations between the two states, MOLDOVA-PRES news agency said.

Muravschi Interviewed on Dnestr Situation

MK1803150792 Moscow KURANTY in Russian
18 Mar 92 p 3

[Interview with Moldovan Premier V. Muravschi by Vladimir Strakhov; place, date not given: "They Are Waiting for the 'Blue Helmets' in Moldova"]

[Text] Your KURANTY correspondent met with Moldovan Premier V. Muravschi and asked him to comment on the steps being taken by the republic's leadership to normalize the situation in the Dnestr region.

[Muravschi] We intend to resolve this question in a civilized fashion. Moldova's leadership categorically opposes bloodshed. How can this be avoided? First, by stopping any interference from outside in the republic's internal affairs. The conflict in the Dnestr region is not interethnic in nature, it is a purely ideological confrontation. Second, by attempting to isolate the forces that are currently in favor of dismembering the territorial integrity of the republic through the integration of Moldova into international and European organizations. Third, by proposing a formula for the state structure which will be supported by sensible and realistic forces on the left bank of the Dnestr. This primarily concerns the status of the Dnestr regions where it is planned to establish a free economic zone. Moreover, the Moldovan leadership stresses that in the event of a change in the republic's state status, for example its attachment to Romania, the population of the left bank regions will be entitled to decide independently whom they want to live in the future.

Take a look at a map of the left bank. The vast majority of villages there are Moldovan but all we hear about is Dubossary and Tiraspol. I have received these villagers on several occasions recently. All my visitors ask for weapons. This is the most dangerous time, when the conflict could grow into a protracted bloodbath. The Cossacks are a second alarming element. Just imagine if a group of my compatriots were suddenly to run riot in Moscow or some Russian oblast.

[Strakhov] Russia states that it has not sent any Cossacks to the Dnestr region. This is these people's own business, and at the present time it is not known who these Cossacks are.

[Muravschi] Every state must bear responsibility for its citizens, particularly when they interfere in the affairs of another state. What is happening at the moment is impermissible. You must understand that in our republic almost 2.5 times more Russian speakers live on the right bank [of the Dnestr] than on the left. Have those who are aggravating the conflict once stopped to think about these people? After all, here is where the confrontation will begin, where the refugees will appear. The presence in the Dnestr region of Cossacks and guardsmen, many of whom are Afghan veterans from other CIS republics, constitutes a very real occupation. There is no other term for it.

[Strakhov] Do you think you will turn to the international community for help?

[Muravschi] We already did. To countries that are participants in the Helsinki process, the CSCE, and the United Nations. European observers have already arrived in our country. We may insist on the presence of UN "blue helmets" in Moldova.

Gagauz People Urged To Join Self-Defense Force

AU1803132392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1237 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/3/1992—As efforts are made by Moldovan officials to appease the armed conflict on the left bank of the Dnestr, secessionists in the alleged Gagauz Republic have bounced back initiating actions that are likely to make the situation in south Moldova worse, MOLDOVA PRES reports. Citizens are urged through the mass media to enroll in a military force "for self-defence purposes." The force is open to persons aged 18 to 40 years from all the states of the former USSR regardless of their social or ethnic descent. This is standard procedure and it was used widely in Transdnestr first, the same source adds. Also following Transdnestr's example, volunteers in the south are promised a high pay and special gear.

Interior Ministry Denies Report on Power Station

LD1903114992 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] There are reports from the Dnestr region of sporadic shelling. A parliamentary press center report points out that the Dubossary hydroelectric power station, which is under the control of guardsmen, was shelled on 18 March. As a result, the power station was partially damaged and staff have stopped working. However, the Moldova Interior Ministry press office completely denies these reports.

'Communist' Forces Blamed for Dnestr Unrest

AU1303152392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1415 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/3/1992—Mentioning the latest achievements of the Republic of Moldova in its being integrated into the world political, economic and financial bodies, including its recent admission to the United Nations, Prime Minister Valeriu Muravscki stated in a televised address in Chisinau that domestic reforms were hampered by states of tension, provocative actions and bloodsheds that went on in the republic. He assessed the events in Transdnestr as another attempt of the conservative forces to reestablish the communist system and the former USSR, being more likely connected with the events planned in Moscow, with the calling of the Congress of former Soviet Deputies who cannot stand the collapse of the Soviet empire.

The Moldovan prime minister said President Snegur had applied to the United Nations to send observers to his country as well as temporary UN forces. The premier mentioned that a Helsinki Committee delegation were to come just as observers from Russia. He announced that all those who wanted should enlist in police squads to safeguard the interests of the republic and of the citizens living on the left bank of the Dnestr.

Referring to economic matters, Mr. Muravschi said production dropped 23-25 per cent in February and March while prices rose 330 per cent.

The financial difficulties, including failure in the payment of wages on time, are due to Russia's having changed its procedure thus demanding payment in advance, to the Moldovan leaders' failure to anticipate it and to the rise in prices. The prime minister demanded intensified activities in marketing agricultural produce stocks that amount to five billion rubles, which will enable them to pay off credits and finance the current economic activities.

Premier Muravschi stated the people's present incomes could not meet a minimal standard of living and hence certain normative acts should be revised and amended so as to make up for the arrears in social welfare. The minimal wages will also be revised and indexation shall be effected, the Moldovan premier specified.

Former Prime Minister Druc Discusses Transdnestr

AU1803094992 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Mar 92 pp 1,3

[Victor Barsan report on statements by Mircea Druc, leader of the Christian Democratic People's Front of Moldova and former Moldovan prime minister: "The Assault for the Revival of the Center"]

[Text] On Monday, 9 March, Mr. Mircea Druc was kind enough to comment of the situation in the Republic of Moldova exclusively for the readers of the ROMANIA LIBERA:

"The situation is clear: We are facing an attempt of the imperial forces to maintain this stronghold, this fortress. The scenario is not new: What happened a year ago in Vilnius is repeated now, and we hope that our president will also pass this trial just as Landsbergis did. We hope that our executive will find enough power and solutions to get out of the crisis.

"However, other forces are interested in us for other reasons, too. If we returned to the old structures, through a possible successful state coup, the strategic position of Transdnestr would become incomparable with the Baltic position. Here is the key to enter the Balkans, the access to the mouth of the Danube, the Black Sea, and the straits. There used to be a great agglomeration of forces here—the Odessa Military District is the strongest and best trained military district—to counterbalance the NATO forces in southeastern Europe and in the Mediterranean. Thus, the situation in Transdnestr is not only the effect of the ambitions of a local leader; it is not only a trial for the young Republic of Moldova, which has now been accepted within the international community. This is a strategic question of much larger proportions, meant to keep Ukraine and this whole territory under tension.

"When empires are dismantled, there are areas in certain provinces where forces of the old structure concentrate, and those forces hope that from those provinces they can start the assault again for the restructuring of the center.

"Apart from this, I believe that certain errors have been committed, and that is why they found us so unprepared...

"Now, the separatists try to justify their actions because in the language of the international law, their action means an interference of a foreign power and of an army of mercenaries. Now, they are also recognizing us as Romanians only to be able to say that the Romanians on the other side of the Dnestr River are interfering.... to be able to say that Romania is interfering.... But which Romania?.... Because we are still talking about the Republic of Moldova.... I think that in the scenario that was worked out earlier a way to draw Romania into this affair was included. They needed this element to justify their own actions. Thus, they were in a hurry and showed their true colors.

"This is the situation—and we must resist. I believe that the executive is proceeding correctly when it launches appeals and sends envoys to Kiev, Moscow, and the United Nations. This does not mean that we, the front, should depart from our path.

"It is a pity that on this issue there is no more cohesion either in Moldova or in Romania—the way we would have expected—with fewer ambitions and less animosity, because this does not lead to a favorable conclusion; this only leads to a great waste of energy. Nevertheless, our duty is not only to resist but to progress forward."

Moldovan Deputies on Visit to Russia, Ukraine

AU1303122892 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Our special correspondent in Chisinau has reported about two important events in the political life of the Republic of Moldova; the session of the Moldovan parliament and the visit of the delegation of high-ranking CSCE officials.

The leaders of the delegations sent to Kiev and Moscow, (?Mikhail Plasciuc) and (?Alexandru Arseni) reported to parliament about the outcome of their visits in those two countries. They came to the conclusion that Ukraine and Russia regard events on the left bank of the Dnestr River as the internal affair of the Republic of Moldova and that only this republic has the right to solve them. The need for better cooperation between Ukraine and Russia, on the one hand, and Moldova, on the other, was also stressed. The parliament instructed the members of these delegation to prepare a draft resolution on this issue.

During his meeting with the delegation of the CSCE commission lead by Mr. (?Jan Lundwing), Mr. Aleksandr Moshanu, the president of Moldova's parliament, presented the whole range of difficulties Moldova is currently confronted with in all areas of its activity. Moshanu also said that, according to his information, on March 16 the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation will examine the social and political situation in Transdnestr.

During the same meeting, the Defense Minister of Moldova told the leader of the CSCE delegation that the Transdnestrian conflict was not brought about by ethnic discord, but by efforts to restore communism by followers of the former totalitarian regime.

Mr. Costas [Moldova's Defense Minister] stated that the armed forces of the republic will be of a defensive nature and will consist of 20,000 citizens of the republic.

Snegur Signs Decree for Market Research Center

LD1703023192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2310 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Kishinev, 17 Mar (TASS)—On Monday [16 March], Moldovan President Mircea Snegur signed a decree on creating a center for researching problems of the market. In accordance with the document, it will function within the composition of the Academy of Sciences and at the same time be subordinate to the republic's State Committee on Matters of Economic Reform. It has been proposed to the republic's government that it should define priority directions for the center's work and procedures for providing it with material and technical means and cadres.

Turkmenistan

President 'Apprehensive' of 'Palace Coup'

LD1803204392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1700 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Dushanbe—According to some information, the Turkmenistan president's decision not to attend the meeting of the CIS heads of state in Kiev is linked to an exacerbation of an inter-clan fight for power continuing in the republic. His decision on the Turkmen delegation at the talks in Kiev to be headed by Chairman of the Republic's Supreme Council Sakhat Muradov, PF [POSTFACTUM] learned from sources close to the president, has nothing to do with Turkmenistan's attitude to the CIS. This move has been prompted by internal policy considerations with a covert inter-clan fight for power continuing in the republic. At the moment Niyazov is apprehensive of a palace coup that can be staged by the high-placed Ashkhabad lobbyists of the so-called Vekil-Bazaar Mafia representing the shadow trade capital of the Mary region. The Mafia collided with the president following what certain reports described as his instigating their late February move against Chairman of the Mary Regional Council Mered Orazov who had been accused of bribe-taking. Niyazov, wary of a growing political and financial influence by this regional leader, who, unlike the president belongs to a noble clan much esteemed in Turkmenistan, intended to use the contradictions between Akhal Tekyn Orazov and the influential Mary Tekyns. Later, however, Niyazov did not support the Mary shadow traders, some of whom were dismissed by Orazov, notably the chairman of the Mary Regional Consumer Union, Potrebsoyuz, and the leaders of certain regional trade and enterprise structures. According to some reports, the Mary group is preparing to retaliate against Niyazov and Orazov, the possible action varying from staging a palace coup to provoking popular unrest in Mary. Their aim is ousting President Niyazov or at least dismissing Orazov and reinstating the dismissed Mary leaders.

Niyazov Comments on Draft Treaty With Russia

PM1803162992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Vladimir Kuleshov report: "Turkmenistan and Russia Ready to Cooperate"]

[Text] A draft treaty on friendly relations and cooperation between the the Russian Federation and Turkmenistan and the text of a document on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries have been agreed in Moscow and Ashkhabad at deputy head of state level.

The participants in the joint session of the presidential Council and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenistan also voted unanimously for the conclusion at the forthcoming top-level meeting of an agreement on a defense alliance between Turkmenistan and Russia.

"Whatever situations develop in the world," Turkmen President S. Niyazov said, "we will always only be friendly with Russia. It is a great country with a great potential and a fine future. One would need to be simply stupid to break off one's ties with Russia now on the pretext of grievances over the distant past. In equal cooperation the interests of Russia and Turkmenistan coincide, especially in the economic sphere.

"We are also interested in a joint military policy. I believe that the security interests of Russia and Turkmenistan coincide. I am confident that Russia itself is interested in a union with Turkmenistan.

"We want to live in friendship with all states, neighboring and otherwise—Islamic, Slavic, whatever kind they are. Turkmenistan will never become an Islamic state. A large part of the republic's population professes Islam but nevertheless the Turkmen leadership's course is the creation of a secular state."

Niyazov Outlines Defense Agreements With Russia

LD1803141592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1139 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Ashkhabad—According to the Turkmenistan president, Russia and Turkmenistan are going to conclude a defense alliance at a summit scheduled for late March-early April 1992.

Turkmenistan President Saparmurat Niyazov, addressing on March 16 a joint session of the Presidential Council and Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet, further said that, in accordance with a draft defense alliance treaty, Russia is going to assume a major portion of expenditures involved in supporting Army units stationed in Turkmenistan. A centralized material and technical supply for Army units will be preserved. At the same time, the republic plans to considerably cut down the numbers of servicemen, except frontier and interior troops. The Turkmenistan administration intends to increase the originally planned numbers of National Guard from 500 to 1,200 persons. A member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet told PF [POSTFACTUM] on March 17 that the National Guard will virtually be a personal guard of President Niyazov as it is expected to be formed out of young men from the Akhal clan of the Turkmen Teke tribe to which the Turkmen leader belongs.

Some local political observers believe that Niyazov's decision to increase the numbers of the National Guard without cutting the interior troops may be related to his intention to drastically strengthen his own position and secure himself from the clan opposition's counteraction in the power struggle lately on the rise.

Armenia

Foreign Ministry Announces State of Emergency

NC1803210292 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Foreign Ministry statement; date not given]

[Text] Azerbaijan's blockade of Armenia violates international law and has reached intolerable proportions. Its aim is to enlarge the war in Nagorno-Karabakh by drawing Armenia into the hostilities. Azerbaijan might succeed in its efforts if the international community fails to compel it to lift the embargo.

For more than three years the people of Armenia have tenaciously braved Azerbaijan's blockade, but the consequences of the blockade are no longer bearable. Armenia's (?only) route to the outside is now unreliable due to the present political situation in Georgia. In addition, Turkey is impeding the dispatch of humanitarian assistance to Armenia through Georgian territory. Armenia finds itself in an acute social and economic crisis as a consequence of all this, which is simply impermissible.

Armenia has clearly declared its position on Nagorno-Karabakh. Armenia has no territorial claims on Nagorno-Karabakh and on Azerbaijan. Nagorno-Karabakh is demanding the recognition of its right to self-determination in conformity with international law. As a third interested party, Armenia is trying to search for ways to achieve a political solution to the problem through a cease-fire between the two sides involved in the conflict, that is Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh, and through negotiations. Armenia has undertaken to do everything possible to achieve this.

To show its goodwill and to create natural conditions for the talks, Azerbaijan must end the blockade. Trains carrying fuel to Armenia must be allowed to travel. Azerbaijan must also stop appropriating foodstuffs and vital goods destined for Armenia.

Because of the cruel economic crisis resulting from the blockade the Armenian Government is forced to introduce a state of emergency [artakarg iravichak] in the republic.

The international community must realize the gravity of the situation, impel Azerbaijan to end the blockade of Armenia, and prevent further enlargement of the conflict. Otherwise, the spread of the current war outside the borders of Nagorno-Karabakh is inevitable and it will be fraught with grave consequences for peace and security in the region and in the world.

President Not To Meet With Azerbaijani Leader

LD1803220892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Armen Dulyan in Yerevan expresses the Armenian side's view of the conflict in Karabakh:

[Dulyan] Combat operations are continuing in the districts of Nagorno-Karabakh. [passage omitted]

Artur Mkrtchyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Supreme Soviet, has told journalists that the Azerbaijani authorities clearly have absolutely no control over the situation in their own republic, and that it is not clear with whom negotiations should be held. He added that there is no point in beginning negotiations at all until there is a ceasefire.

At the same time, Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Ovanesyan has stated that the Armenian president intends, at the upcoming meeting of the CIS heads of state in Kiev, to call for CIS peacekeeping forces to be sent to Karabakh, and that a meeting between the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan before the start of that conference is possible. However, I have been told at the president's press service that this meeting can take place only if Azerbaijan lifts the blockade of Armenia by then.

Armen Dulyan of the SNARK news agency, for Radio Rossii news service.

The planned meeting between the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan in Kiev on 19 March will not take place. A correspondent for the SNARK agency was told this at the Armenian president's press service. All indications are that Azerbaijan does not intend to lift the blockade of Armenia, and this rules out the possibility of any negotiations. The leaders of Armenia regard the lifting of the blockade as a precondition for any political consultations with Azerbaijan.

Iranian Minister, Delegation Arrive in Yerevan

NC1903123992 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0330 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] The Iranian delegation arrived in Yerevan from Baku for talks with Armenian leaders on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Prior to departing for Yerevan, Va'ezi, deputy minister for Euro-American affairs, who is leading the delegation, had another meeting with Azerbaijani officials.

In his meeting with acting Azerbaijani President Yakub Mamedov and Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov, the two sides expressed their views on the Tehran agreement. The Azerbaijani officials stressed their concurrence on the Tehran declaration and expressed their readiness to cooperate with the Iran until peace is attained between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Following his arrival in Yerevan, Va'ezi spoke to correspondents at Yerevan Airport and described his talks with Azerbaijani officials as constructive.

President Confirms Cease-Fire Accord

LD1903111592 Tehran IRNA in English 1046 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Yerevan, March 19, IRNA—The Republic of Armenia confirmed the Tehran communique on the establishment of ceasefire in the Karabakh region and exchange of bodies of the victims with Azerbaijan. Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan announced the confirmation in a meeting with visiting Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister for Europe and American [Affairs] Mahmud Va'ezi here Wednesday [18 March] night.

"Armenia is ready to implement the contents of the communique," Petrosyan said. He said establishment of ceasefire between the Armenian and Azeri forces is the first step towards the implementation of the Tehran communique, and that Armenia will cooperate in this regard. The communique was inked at the end of a trilateral meeting between the Iranian foreign minister and high-ranking representatives of the two republics in Tehran last Monday.

The communique will be implemented after the confirmation of the presidents of the two republics. Va'ezi had reviewed the outcome of the talks with Prime Minister of Azerbaijan Gasan Gasanov in Baku on Tuesday.

[Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian at 1030 GMT on 19 March in a similar report adds: "The Republic of Armenia has formally agreed to implement the Tehran Declaration on settlement of the Karabakh crisis. Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, announcing the above last night during his meeting with Mr. Va'ezi, the Islamic Republic of Iran's deputy minister of foreign affairs for Europe and America, added that his country is ready to implement the contents of the said declaration. He believes that Armenia's interest in establishing a cease-fire between Azeri and Armenian forces in Karabakh region is the first step toward implementation of the contents of the Tehran declaration. He then said that Armenia will cooperate in this regard.

["The Tehran declaration was signed by participating delegates last Monday at the tripartite meeting of the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Iran. Our country's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Va'ezi, currently visiting the region during the third phase of the mediation efforts of the Islamic Republic of Iran, is to follow up the implementation of the said agreement. The said understanding is to be enforced once the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan confirm it.

["According to the said understanding, once there is a cease-fire in Karabakh, bodies and prisoners of the warring parties will be exchanged. Also, necessary measures will be adopted to lift the economic embargo on the region."]

[Paris AFP in English at 0940 GMT on 19 March, in a Tehran-datelined item, adds: "A ceasefire between warring Azeri and Armenian factions in Nagorno-Karabakh will take effect Friday at 1200 noon Iran time (0830 GMT), a senior Iranian official said here Thursday.

["'The ceasefire should be implemented in accordance with an agreement signed Sunday in Tehran between Armenia and Azerbaijan' by senior representatives from both parties, the official—who asked not to be named—told AFP.

["But to take effect the draft accord must be endorsed by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and his Azerbaijani counterpart Yakub Mamedov. The two leaders were to have met in Kiev Thursday but the encounter was called off by Armenia to protest Azerbaijan's continuing blockade of the neighboring republic."]

Defense Ministry Denies Biological Weapons Use

LD1803192892 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan March 18 TASS—The Armenian Defence Ministry demanded on Wednesday [18 March] that Azerbaijan explain its allegations that Armenians had used bacteriological weapons.

In the past few days Azeri officials have been alleging that Armenians dumped bags with powder biological weapons on the territory of Tauz and Kelbadzhar regions in Azerbaijan, the Armenian Defence Ministry said tonight.

The Azeri side should either provide weighty proof or apologize for the disinformation, the Defence Ministry said.

The Armenian Defence Ministry also demanded that an authoritative independent commission be set up to go to the site of the alleged incident.

UN Envoy Cyrus Vance Arrives in Yerevan

LD1903112492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Yerevan, 19 Mar (ARMENPRESS-TASS)—Cyrus Vance, on behalf of UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali, met Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Ovannisyan and expressed concern at the military actions in Nagorno-Karabakh and gave detailed information about the course and aims of his peace-making mission. He pointed out that the world community hopes for a possible Karabakh cease-fire and for talks between the conflicting sides to be fruitful, as was the case in Croatia. The talks continued behind closed doors.

Cyrus Vance met President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and other republican leaders this morning.

There are reports that Cyrus Vance plans to fly to Gyandzha, Azerbaijan, tonight and leave for Karabakh from there.

Azerbaijan Imposes Transportation Blockade

LD1803191792 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] ARMENPRES has learned from the republican committee dealing with special economic programs that Azerbaijan today placed a total transportation blockade on Armenia. Trains from Georgia also failed to arrive. All railway communications are disrupted. Problems with gas supplies continue. According to the republican state committee for gas supplies, 6.4 million cubic meters of gas are delivered daily—22 million are required.

Armenian Supplies 'Pillaged'

NC1803181892 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] The railway blockade of Armenia is continuing. Six hundred tonnes of meat, 20,000 tonnes of gasoline, 30,000 tonnes of diesel fuel, and 60,000 tonnes of fuel oil destined for Armenia were pillaged in Azerbaijan just in the last few days.

The shelling of Armenian border villages from Azerbaijan is also continuing.

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian at 1500 GMT on 18 March reports: "There is no end to the shelling of the border villages in Tavushskiy Rayon" in Armenia. "The entire population of Aygepar village was evacuated; only women, children, and the elderly were evacuated from Nerkin-Karmirakhpyur and Movses villages."]

Emergency Introduced at Stepanakert Airport

NC1803191692 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] In accordance with a decision adopted at the 17 March meeting of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's Supreme Soviet a state of emergency [hatuk drutyun] was introduced at Stepanakert's airport. The airport will be used primarily to transport foodstuffs and other consignments. It was decided to restore the airport, which has fallen into a state of disrepair following its occupation by the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia Detachment, as soon as possible.

Karabakh Leader Cables Ukraine President

NC1803175392 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Stepanakert was shelled by Shusha's Grad launchers last night and this morning. Two residents were killed and 15 injured as a result of the shelling.

The headquarters of the self-defense forces reported that it has become frequent for non-Azerbaijani soldiers in the Azerbaijani Army to cross over to the Armenian side.

It is also reported that three residents were injured and one [word indistinct] was killed as a result of the shelling of Martuni yesterday by military helicopters. Fifty-five howitzer shells were fired on the village of (Vardapuyt) from an Azerbaijani military base at (Tebed).

Artur Mkrtchyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Supreme Soviet, sent a cable to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk welcoming his initiative to raise the issue of the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem at the forthcoming meeting of the leaders of the CIS countries. He stressed that the NKR Supreme Soviet considers it imperative that the NKR's plenipotentiary representative participate in the discussion of the problem, for any talk held in the absence of Nagorno-Karabakh can produce no positive result.

Ter-Petrosyan Supports CIS Armed Forces

OW1903024592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with "Interfax" Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan said he supports the preservation of a United Armed Forces of the Commonwealth States. He said that republics should be allowed to create their own defence structures, not an army per se, but a national guard; he added that Armenia is taking steps in this direction.

Ter-Petrosyan said Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's recent statement on the need to immediately withdraw forces from the Caucasus is "somewhat premature". The Armenian President said "united peacemaking forces of the CIS" may be sent to the Armenian-Azeri conflict zone if the CIS leaders decide to create such a force.

Azerbaijan

Vance Holds 'Intensive Talks' With Gasanov

LD1803220492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 92

Video report by correspondent M. Mamedov, identified from screen caption, from Baku on visit by Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN secretary general, to Baku and on talks with Azerbaijani Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN secretary general, held intensive talks today with Gasan Gasanov, prime minister of the Azerbaijan Republic. Taking into account the delicate nature of the issues touched on, the discussions were conducted practically behind closed doors.

Speaking before correspondents, the U.S. diplomat stressed that he is satisfied with the progress made in the talks and the information obtained on the sources and the development of the Karabakh conflict in the present situation. He also noted that for the moment it is not possible for him personally to visit the mountainous part of Karabakh. According to Vance, only Azerbaijan has furnished guarantees of safety while visiting this hotspot. The position of the other side will be clarified in Yerevan.

Cyrus Vance said that he knows about the tragedy in Khodzhaly, which the foreign mass media has reported. Some time later the special envoy was given the opportunity to talk to those inhabitants who miraculously survived from the town of Khodzhaly, which was destroyed by Armenian armed fighters. Currently in the city hospital for treatment, they told the UN representative about the horrors that they had experienced. Cyrus Vance wished them a rapid recovery and expressed the hope that such a thing will never happen again.

Iran 'Closely Following' Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1803211192 Tehran IRNA in English 1823 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Tehran, March 18, IRNA—Senior Iranian officials are closely following all developments concerning Karabakh, Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister for Euro-American Affairs Mahmud Va'ezi told the Prime Minister of Azerbaijan Gasan Gasanov in Baku last night.

Va'ezi, who arrived in the Azerbaijan capital Tuesday [17 March] on a mediation mission which will also take him to Armenia, said Iran will not spare any efforts to put out the fire of hostility between the Republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Va'ezi referred to the trilateral talks in Tehran earlier this week involving Iran and the two warring Caucasus states, and underscored the need for cease-fire as a "key step" towards settlement of the issue. He also termed as "promising" the willingness of the Azerbaijan leaders to continue talks for finding a final solution to the Karabakh issue.

Gasanov hailed Iran's mediation efforts to end the conflict, and described as "important and significant" last week's telephone conversation between Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. "The people of Azerbaijan appreciate this measure of the Iranian president," he added.

CIS Army Facilities Mined To Prevent Theft

MK1803142592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 92 p 3

[Aydyn Mekhtiyev report under the "Azerbaijan" rubric: "Transcaucasus Military District Installations Are Now Mined. Cyrus Vance Will Get to Hear About This"]

[Text] The conflict between the leadership of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces 4th Army, which is stationed in Azerbaijan, goes on.

By decision of the Azerbaijan parliament signed by Yakub Mamedov, the republic's acting president and the speaker of parliament, all military prosecutor's offices located on the republic's territory that were formerly subordinate to the former USSR Defense Ministry have been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Republic of Azerbaijan general prosecutor.

At a news conference for journalists held at the headquarters of the 4th Army's Transcaucaus Military District in Baku on the morning of 17 March, Lieutenant General Sufiyan Beppayev, deputy commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, stated: "By decision of the Transcaucasus Military District command, all installations on Azerbaijani territory, including 4th Army weapons depots, have been mined with combat mines and equipped with warning devices since 17 March."

According to Beppayev, this extreme measure was taken after 34 officers from CIS forces were wounded and seven killed over the last four days in Azerbaijan. The generals link all these incidents with attempts to seize weapons from depots. "We did not want the casualties to continue," Beppayev stated, "but if there are continuing attempts to seize weapons, we will be forced to send up combat helicopters and eliminate the enemy."

Nadir Mekhtiyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Commission on Human Rights, stated that Beppayev's statement is a gross flouting of the republic's sovereignty and that he will present this statement to Cyrus Vance, the UN Secretary General's personal envoy, when he arrives 17 March.

The situation in Agdamskiy Rayon continues to worsen. Yakub Mamedov set off there 16 March. Meanwhile, members of the majlis of the Azerbaijan People's Front set off for Agdam by bus during the night of 16 March; in Agdam they will hold a visiting emergency session of the majlis at which they will make decisions to ensure Agdamskiy Rayon's defense capability.

Bacteriological Warfare Claimed in Insect Drop

LD1803155192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan has been informed of the missile and artillery shelling of the towns of Agdam and Shusha this morning.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan also reported that on the night of 17-18 March several sacks of red and pink insects were dropped from helicopters on the territory of Tauzskiy and Kelbadzharskiy rayons in Azerbaijan. Specialists believe that it is some kind of bacteriological warfare. [passage omitted]

With the resignation of Ayaz Mutalibov, the placement of political forces in Azerbaijan continues to undergo changes. The political parties and movements which are united around the People's Front, are getting more confident.

Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov reported on the consultations on issues relating to the formation of a coalition government.

Yakub Mamedov, the new chairman of the parliament, has already had a telephone conversation with Geydar Aliyev, the leader of Nakhichevan. Though Geydar Aliyev is constantly speaking about how comfortable he is in Nakhichevan, his chances of becoming a leader of the republic are rather high. Probably, Geydar Aliyev is the only politician in Azerbaijan whose rating has not dropped recently, but has been rising. Both the present Prime Minister Gasanov and Mamedov, the chairman of the parliament, are believed to be Aliyev's people in the republic. To tell the truth, there is one complication—according to law, no person older than 65 years old can become the president of Azerbaijan; as we know, Geydar Aliyev is 69.

Colonel on Need for Turkish Military Experts

NC1803135692 Istanbul TURKIYE in Turkish 15 Mar 92 p 13

[Text] TURKIYE correspondents visited the headquarters of the Azerbaijani National Army. The soldiers and officers at the headquarters, which opened its doors for the first time for our newspaper, have only the following objective in mind: "To uproot and throw the Armenians out of the country."

The national Army is gaining strength every day with the enlistment of young volunteers. It appears that shortly this Army will become one of the most important forces in the region.

"We Want Combat Specialists"

We met Colonel Ramiz Duygun Melikov, head of the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry's Information Department, at Army headquarters. He said: "For now, our hands are tied. We cannot ask for help from anyone. We are aware that if we ask for military help from Turkey, Armenia would ask for military help from the Western Christian countries. The only thing we want from Turkey is for it to send military specialists well-versed in combat techniques."

High Morale at Headquarters

Everyone at the Army headquarters is in high spirits. It is worth seeing the training of the volunteers who have gathered here for the defense of the country. All of them are looking forward to be sent to the front. They are absorbed in the thought of going to the front and giving the Armenians the lesson they deserve.

Refugee Azerbaijanis To Establish New Republic

NC1803204292 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] A conference has been held in Baku by a group trying to establish the Goyshe Zangezur Democratic Republic. Addressing the convocation, lawyer A. Tahirov, 43, who has been elected chairman of the founding committee of the Goyshe Zangezur Democratic Republic, said: Establishing this republic is linked with the right of hundreds of thousands of Azerbaijanis, who have been forcibly evicted from their historic lands in Armenia, to determine their own future. Establishing state organs will contribute toward restoring the rights of these people as citizens and help them return to their places of birth. We plan to hold elections to establish a parliament and executive organs of the new republic in the near future. A seven-member organization committee has been established to work in that regard. Among them are lawyers and scholars. We expect international support and aid from the Azerbaijani leaders. Appeals will be made to the United Nations and other international organizations to recognize the Goyshe Zangezur Democratic Republic.

Mamedov Calls For Popular Front Cooperation

NC1803204992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Yakub Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, has made the following appeal to Ebulfez Elchibey, leader of the Azerbaijan Popular Front:

Esteemed Ebulfez Elchibey, I appeal for your cooperation in light of the complex social and political situation in the republic, and Armenia's uninterrupted aggression. You are aware that the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet has accepted the president's resignation and decided to establish a coalition government. I am convinced that the politically influential Azerbaijan Popular Front must, for the sake of the people and national unity, take concrete steps to block a government crisis. I am also convinced that it must participate in the structure of the government. In view of this, I urge you to submit concrete proposals on the matter.

I take this opportunity to convey my sincere regards to you once again.

Aliyev Says Mediators Unnecessary at Peace Talks

LD1803185892 Moscow TASS in English 1815 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Krasulin and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Nakhichevan March 18 TASS—"I know the Azerbaijani leadership has a firm intention to find a possibility to cease fire and start negotiations to normalise relations with Armenia", Geydar Aliyev, parliamentary speaker of the Nakhichevan Republic of Azerbaijan and former politburo member of the now disbanded Soviet Communist Party, told reporters on Wednesday [18 March]. He was referring to the upcoming meeting of representatives of both countries which, he said, will take place in Kiev on Friday.

"It is hard to predict concrete results of the meeting, but I believe, such contacts should have started much earlier. Azerbaijani and Armenian leaderships should negotiate without mediators", he said.

Seen as Possible President

PM1603164592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 1

[E. Umudov report under the "Issues of the Week" rubric: "Does Aliyev Have a Chance?"]

[Text] By assuming the leadership of Georgia after the disturbances, Eduard Shevardnadze has prompted heightened public interest in his former Politburo colleague Geydar Aliyev, now chairman of the Nakhichevan Parliament. Especially as neighboring Azerbaijan is currently experiencing a deep crisis, including a crisis of authority.

So, does Aliyev have a chance of becoming Azerbaijan's leading figure once more? Yes, he does. The question is, how great a chance? With A. Mutalibov's departure [from the presidency], the positions of Aliyev's open opponents have been noticeably shaken. Moreover, two of the current state leaders—Premier Gasan Gasanov and Parliament Chairman Yakub Mamedov—are considered "Aliyev's men" in Azerbaijan.

The "sojourn in Nakhichevan," despite the Baku authorities' efforts, brought Geydar Aliyev specific (and truly vital) dividends. He has managed to significantly lessen and subsequently smooth over the rivalry between the autonomous entity's authorities and opposition, thus achieving stability. Against a background of constant bickering, and battles on the border between Armenia and "mainland" Azerbaijan and in Nagorno-Karabakh, calm—albeit relative—has prevailed here in recent months. Moreover, the Nakhichevan authorities successfully secured the return of hostages taken by Armenia on Nagorno-Karabakh territory—that is, inhabitants from other regions of Azerbaijan.

In short, over the last six months Geydar Aliyev was perhaps the only Azerbaijani politician whose ratings rose rather than fell. His rating may still not be enough to make him head of Azerbaijan, but it is quite capable of securing for him one of the leading roles.

Georgia

Signing of Zugdidi Peace Agreement Reported

AU1803131092 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Agreement signed in Zugdidi on 17 March by representatives of the Republic of Georgia State Council, the Zugdidi Town Disobedience Committee and armed forces, the public, and the Georgian National Guard]

[Text] Proceeding from the interests of the Georgian nation, we, the representatives at the negotiations held in Zugdidi on 16 March 1992, have arrived at the following agreement:

1. The Republic of Georgia State Council must adopt the following resolution:

A. Armed units in the town of Zugdidi and its surrounding regions are to join the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces as one of their component parts and are to come under the single (?command) of the Armed Forces. Those who will not join the National Guard are obliged to surrender their weapons to official military formations.

B. Units of the Republic of Georgia National Guard are to leave the place of conflict and return to their own stationing location.

C. All participants in the campaign of opposition are to be guaranteed immunity except for those persons whose crimes exceeded the international norms of military actions and [word indistinct].

D. Public order in Zugdidi and its surrounding regions is to be ensured only by internal ministry formations.

E. A competent commission is to be created which will study and give an appropriate assessment of facts of (?compromising) criminal acts committed by the National Guard in Zugdidi and its surrounding regions.

2. The Zugdidi Town Disobedience Committee and armed forces state the following:

A. A halt is to be made to the campaign of armed opposition in Zugdidi and its surrounding regions and the struggle is to be continued by using only peaceful political methods.

B. Following publication of the aforementioned State Council resolution in the mass media, the hostages are to swear an oath before our Savior in the Church of Our Savior that they will never again raise weapons against the Georgian nation, thereby fulfilling the demand made during the conflict by the mothers of the deceased. Following all this, the hostages on both sides will be released.

C. Local administration in Zugdidi is to be carried out by persons elected at a meeting of representatives of the population.

D. In order to prevent disinformation and gossip as well as possible provocations, the mass media will give serious coverage to prevailing processes in the region within the laws of the press.

The agreement is signed by:

Representatives of the Republic of Georgia State Council [word indistinct] delegation: Giorgi Khaindrava, Irakli Batiashvili, Merab Uridia, Temur Pipia, Tengiz Dikhaminjia, Valiko Rokava, Nodar Natadze.

On behalf of the Zugdidi Town Disobedience Committee and armed forces: Valter Shurgaia, (Vakhtang Khopalia), Jemal Kobalia, Gocha Bakhia, (Usha Dadiani), Zaza Mchedlidze, Robinson Margveliani, Znaur Kobalia, Gia [name indistinct].

Representatives of the Public: Otar Patatsia, (Merab Gvatsava), Grigol Kopalia.

Representatives of the Georgian National Guard: Paata Datuashvili, Tariel Abulashvili, Zurab Datuashvili, (Merab Gudaishvili)

[Issued] In Zugdidi

[Dated] 17 March 1992 at 0015

Chechen President Asked To Return Gamsakhurdia

LD1803171292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1602 GMT 18 Mar 92

[By SAKINFORM correspondent Eduard Ediberidze for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Mar (TASS)—Georgian General Procurator Vakhtang Razmadze has requested Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev to "offer assistance in halting the criminal activities" of Zviad Gamsakhurdia and to hand him over to the Georgian procuracy. Investigations have established, the procurator's letter says, that the former Georgian president was the organizer of a large-scale systematic embezzlement of the state treasury. The total sum of money misappropriated by him up to the present day amounts to 36 million rubles. He is also incriminated in smuggling operations.

As pointed out in the letter, the former president, having found refuge in Groznyy, with his calls to disobedience is again exacerbating the situation, which may lead to a fratricidal civil war in the republic. The support which is being given by Dudayev to Gamsakhurdia and his circle cannot fail to have a negative influence on relations between the Chechnya and Georgian peoples, the procurator general notes.

Vakhtang Razmadze has also sent a letter to the UN Human Rights Commission and Amnesty International. He has conclusive proof rejecting Gamsakhurdia's claim that he—Gamsakhurdia—was the victim of a military coup.

Prosecutor Gives Details of Gamsakhurdia Case

OW1903045492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian Prosecutor's Office Vakhtang Razmadze has proposed that the U.N. Human Rights Commission and the International organization "Amnesty" send their representatives to Tbilisi for examining the documents of an investigation into the case of the ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

The prosecutor's statement says the decision was prompted by numerous messages sent by Gamsakhurdia to a number of international organizations denying the accusations brought against him.

The legal proceedings against Gamsakhurdia were instituted in mid-January. He is charged with stirring up ethnic hostility, committing major thefts, abusing power and promoting the destruction of architectural and cultural monuments.

Popular Front Leader on Release of Hostages

OW1903010292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1403 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of Georgia's State Council Eduard Shevardnadze has said that his republic's top priority today is "to end the bloodshed and all kinds of confrontation" and that it is high time Georgia "embarked upon a road of constructive work." He was addressing journalists in Tbilisi to comment on the State Council resolution of March 17 summing up negotiations in Zugdidi, Western Georgia, between officials of the current administration and supporters of the deposed president Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

Nodar Natadze, State Council member and leader of the republic's Popular Front [PF], told IF [INTERFAX] that under the resolution all national guards and government troops must be withdrawn from Zugdidi to be replaced by units of the Georgian police.

According to Natadze, armed supporters of Gamsakhurdia would enter the national guard as an independent battalion on alert status.

The PF leader said all the 46 people taken hostage by the Gamsakhurdists in Zugdidi would be released within the next few days—among them Georgia's deputy defense minister [illegible] Kutateladze and national guard commander Georgy Karkarashvili. The captors insist that the hostages pledge to the Church never to turn arms against their own people.

South Ossetia Agrees To Talks With Authorities

LD1903123192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The South Ossetian parliament has come out in favor of holding talks with the Georgian authorities. The aim of the talks is to normalize the situation in the area, where combat continues.

Fighting Resumes

LD1803135892 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 18 TASS—Fighting resumed in South Ossetia on Wednesday [18 March] after a short lull. Supporters of ousted Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, based in the Georgian settlements of Nikosi, Tamarasheni, Ergneti and Prisi, opened machine-gun fire at the outskirts of Tskhinval last night. Ossetian self-defence units fired in response. There were no reports on casualties, according to the South Ossetian information committee.

Georgian militants are concentrating in the Gori region of Georgia, bordering on South Ossetia, according to the South Ossetian interior ministry.

North Ossetian parliamentary speaker Aksarbek Galazov sent a message on Tuesday to Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian State Council, reiterating the North Ossetian demand to immediately start negotiations to solve the crisis between Georgia and South Ossetia.

However, it is believed in Tskhinval that the Georgian militants are guided not from Tbilisi, but from the Gori region of Georgia, where most of Gamsakhurdia's supporters are concentrated.

South Ossetian parliamentarians will join in a session in Tskhinval on Thursday to discuss the main items of negotiations with representatives of the Georgian provisional government.

In the meantime, Tskhinval remains without water and gas supplies. Electric power supplies lasted only for one day and blackout resumed on Wednesday. A heavily guarded convoy of military trucks with food and medicines left Vladikavkaz for Tskhinval today.

Iranian Mediation of Nagorno-Karabakh Praised

LD1803211892 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in English 1930 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] The head of the Georgian council, Eduard Shevardnadze, has welcomed Iran's initiative in mediating between the Republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia for resolving the Karabakh issue.

In the verbal message to the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign minister, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Mr. Shevardnadze stressed the significance Georgia attaches to having friendly ties with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

He said in view of his close links with the officials of both Azerbaijan and Armenia, he, too, is willing to cooperate with the Islamic Republic of Iran for resolving the conflict of Karabakh.

The daily IZVESTIYA has meanwhile commented: It seems Iran's diplomacy in resolving the Karabakh problem has been the most effective of all.

Shevardnadze Says CIS Relations 'Priority'

LD1303135992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1312 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By TASS-Sakinform correspondents Eduard Ediberidze and Tengiz Grigalashvili]

[Text] Tbilisi, 13 Mar (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian State Council, believes that the Republic's priority task is to establish bilateral, mutual relations with Russia and the other former republics of the USSR and, sensing "a certain skepticism" regarding the CIS, believes that it should be in no hurry to join it. He said this today in response to journalists' questions at the presentation of the Fund for Georgia's Rebirth and Democracy, which he founded.

"If all of us, the whole of Georgia, do not unite, then the Republic may be facing a catastrophe," Eduard Shevardnadze said. He described the political and economic situation in Georgia as critical, noting that there had been fratricidal clashes in a number of regions, the economy is in complete collapse, and the threat of famine has emerged. Such a shameful concept as refugees has now become customary. The founder of the Fund for Georgia's Rebirth and Democracy called on his fellow countrymen and friends abroad at this extremely grave time for the Republic to help it out of its crisis.

The most important thing now, he stressed, is to prepare and hold elections to a new parliament which will tackle cardinal issues, including the problem of Russian Army units in Georgia. Here, with regard to ethnic minorities in the Republic, one must be governed by norms which are generally recognized in a civilized world.

Eduard Shevardnadze believes that Georgia requires a minimum of three to four years before life will return to normal, and another eight to 10 years before the Republic will get back on its feet properly and occupy a worthy place in the world community.